

The Scriptural Tale in the Fourth Gospel

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The Scriptural Tale in the Fourth Gospel

*With Particular Reference to the Prologue and
a Syncretic (Oral and Written) Poetics*

By

Edward H. Gerber



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Abbreviations

All abbreviations for primary and secondary sources follow *The Society of Biblical Literature Handbook of Style for Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies*, Edited by P. H. Alexander, J. H. Kutsko, J. D. Ernest, S. Decker-Lucke, and D. L. Peterson, Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1999, with the following additions and clarifications.

CNTTS NT	<i>The Center for New Testament Textual Studies NT Critical Apparatus</i> , 2004
DBI	<i>Dictionary of Biblical Imagery</i> . Edited by Leland Ryken, James C. Wilhoit, Tremper Longman III. Downers Grove: IVP, 1998.
GELNT	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament</i> . Translated, Revised and Enlarged by Joseph Henry Thayer, 1889.
GGBB	<i>Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics</i> . Daniel B. Wallace. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997.
GIN	<i>Shorter Lexicon of the Greek New Testament</i> , Second Edition. F. Wilbur Gingrich, revised by Frederick W. Danker. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1979.
LEH	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint</i> , Revised edition. Compiled by Johan Lust and Erik Eynikel and Katrin Hauspie. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003.

Unless indicated otherwise all references to the Hebrew Bible refer to the MT. When these are followed by an additional reference (in brackets), this denotes the LXX numeration. All references to the Greek New Testament follow the working text found in the 27th edition of the *Nestle-Aland Novum Testamentum Graece* and the 4th edition of the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament*. Unless indicated otherwise, all translations of the Bible follow the NRSV; all translations of the 'Old Testament Psuedepigrapha' are from J. H. Charlesworth's edition *OTP*; all quotations of the Dead Sea Scrolls are taken from the Revised Edition of *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (2004), translated by Geza Vermes; and all quotations of the early church fathers are from Philip Schaff's *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (Vols. 1–10), edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson.

PART 1

Prolegomena: A Story Told?



Another Story in John's Story of Jesus? Intimations of a Scriptural Tale

History doesn't repeat itself, but it rhymes.¹

...

These are the scriptures that testify about me.²

∴

1.1 Introduction

In harmony with an increased appreciation for the widespread non-explicit use of scripture in New Testament documents,³ NT interpreters are increasingly discerning the imprint of older narratives in newer works. Older stories operate as frameworks for newer ones, guiding and referentially 'thickening' these texts. These frameworks are being discerned at micro- and macro-levels of epistolary and narrative texts.⁴ Within gospel studies, Kenneth Bailey proposes that the parable of the Prodigal Son has the story of Jacob as its guiding sub-structural frame.⁵ Rikki Watts views Mark's opening quotation as indicative of a guiding scriptural framework, 'Isaiah's New Exodus in Mark'.⁶ Thomas Brodie suggests that Luke-Acts is a fundamental 'rewriting' of the Elijah-Elisha narrative, the latter being an 'interpretive synthesis' of the entire 'Primary

¹ Mark Twain.

² John 5:39b.

³ For example, see Farrer 1963; Hays 1989; Bauckham 2003, 2; Manning 2004; Beetham 2008.

⁴ Within epistolary texts, David Allen perceives that the author of Hebrews has taken the essence and flow of Deuteronomy and narratively 're-presented' it (Allen 2008). N. T. Wright sees the unfolding of Paul's argument in Romans as an example of narrative architectonics, an implicit retelling of the story of Adam and Israel (Wright 2002, 625; so also Seifrid 2008, 607).

⁵ Bailey 2003.

⁶ Watts 1997.

History'.⁷ Joel Kennedy argues that Matthew has designed his Gospel as a narrative reenactment of Israel's scriptures, reflective of his theological aim to portray Jesus as 'The Recapitulation of Israel'.⁸

The aim of the present study is to explore the notion that the Fourth Gospel (hereafter FG), first in the prologue, and then in expanded form in the body of the Gospel, has been patterned after a retelling of the story of Adam/Israel. In alignment with three other 'tales' already identified in the FG, I will refer to this alleged sub-story as a 'scriptural tale'.⁹

More specifically, it will be argued that as the Gospel moves from *arche* (1:1) to *telos* (19:30), the three major 'epochs' or 'periods' of Israel's story—their 'beginnings', the campaign of Moses, and the legendary conquest campaigns of Joshua/David—have been used by the Fourth Evangelist (hereafter FE)¹⁰ in sequence as the compositional building blocks for his Gospel's macrostructure. In this way, the FG is thematically divided into three major sections or dramatic acts that redound with the story of Israel, including a variety of more specific memories included in these epochs. From a scriptural or 'canonical' perspective, the foundational moments and entire span of the story represented in Genesis through Kings is re-presented in these three divisions. I will also argue that confirmation of these divisions is manifested in the additional enstructuration or 'packaging' of these three major acts into three macrostructural heptads.

It will be proposed that the FE's motive for underlining his Gospel with this scriptural framework and packaging it in this way was both compositional (it helped him compose) and ideological (it helped him reveal who Jesus was to his audiences). The rationale for an extended focus on the prologue in this study relates to the scholarly conviction that, whatever diachronic questions may persist, from a synchronic perspective of the 'completed' composition, the prologue now serves as a pregnant preview to the themes of the Gospel. This is to say, because the prologue laconically *tells* what the Gospel then *shows*, it is fundamental to an understanding of the FG. Other scholars have, albeit somewhat differently, detected that the prologue comprises an original structural beginning for the Gospel, a view that requires the prologue

7 Brodie 1981; 2000; 2004.

8 Kennedy 2008.

9 Compare the 'historical', 'ecclesiological', and 'cosmological' tales identified by Reinhartz 1992.

10 Although I will not be making a claim for the particular authorship of the FG, I will, with convention, refer to the FE as 'he'. The appellation 'FE' reflects this neutral position.

to be accounted for in a vision of the whole framework.¹¹ While not specifically attempting to mitigate between these two views or to answer diachronic questions, my own research into the storied nature of the prologue and the body of the Gospel will attest to the prologue's double function as an overture and fitting structural beginning for the whole work.

1.2 Preliminary Issues, Plan, and Approach Adopted in This Study

Naturally, a study of this nature raises critical issues concerning: (a) sources of narrative knowledge in the first century CE, i.e. where and how, and to what degree, one would come to know such a 'story of Israel', or if they would at all; and (b) methods for detecting such embedded frameworks or 'sub-tales'. These two preliminary issues will be dealt with in Chapters 2 and 3 respectively, paving the way for an argument for the *orally-influenced* story-patterning of (c) the prologue in Part 2 (Chapters 4–5) and (d) the Gospel that it introduces in Part 3 (Chapters 6–7).

As the italicized 'orally-influenced' indicates, one of the major aims of the present study will be to contribute to the burgeoning discussion in biblical studies concerning first-century media dynamics. In particular, I will suggest in Chapter 3 how an appreciation for the oral and/or orally-residual environment in which the FG took shape must impact on its reception as a piece of verbal and referential art. Discoveries about the practices of unlettered, and/or orally/aurally-situated communities suggest that the application of modern literary theories of intertextuality as applied to NT documents assume a brand of *poetics* that does not sufficiently account for the associative matrices of documents composed in predominantly oral environments. Conversations about the use of associations in ancient texts, therefore, must be broadened in this direction. The need for this broadening with reference to an alleged scriptural tale in the FG may be illustrated by a highly condensed and preliminary survey of previous studies on the FG's use of scripture.

To date, the tally of studies exploring the FG's use of scripture are voluminous.¹² Yet a critical survey of the literature reveals that investigations

11 On the distinction between these two views of the prologue's function, see Schnackenburg 1968, 221–2. Also see n. 179 in Chapter 3 below.

12 Direct and indirect quotations have been variously located, catalogued, differentiated, sourced, dissected and explained (Menken 1996; Schuchard 1992; Carson 1988, 246; Köstenberger 2007, 415); an array of individual allusions, types, themes, figures, and motifs have been similarly suggested, classified, listed, compared, and debated (Mayer

into the FE's use of scripture have tended in two delimiting directions, with three distinct consequences. They have tended towards (a) *atomistic exegesis*: the isolating of distinct quotations, allusions and/or echoes, and subjecting them to rigorous examination; and/or (b) *obvious connections*: gravitating toward those *types* of references which are more explicit, clear, available on the 'surface' of the text, and thus easier to apprehend.¹³ Consequently, studies have been narrow in three senses: *spatially*, *categorically*, and *relationally*. That is to say, they have been narrow in terms of the breadth of topographical 'space' in view, usually focusing on merely a few verses or pericopes, or discreet collections of them as discerned throughout the Gospel. They have been narrow in the number of textual 'objects' selected for viewing, more direct quotations are focused upon over allusions and echoes, and the more obvious references, like quotations, receive greater attention.¹⁴ Studies have also been narrow in the degree to which various scriptural references are sought to be organically

1988; Owen 1988; Herlong 1989; Hollis 1989; Wyatt 1990; Roth 1992; Boismard 1993; Gawlick 1996; Daly-Denton 1996; Casseli 1997; Little 1998; Westermann 1998; Brunson 2003; J. K. Newman 2003; Wucherpennig 2003; Reed 2003; Byron 2005; Klink 2005; Janzen 2006; Dolna 2006; Azar 2006; Tovey 2006; Davidson 2006; Vakayil 2007); John's background and sources have been mined (Brown 1966, LII–LXV; Nielson 1999, 17); his exegetical methods, references to 'scripture', and scriptural figures explored (Moloney 2005; Menken 2005; Beutler 1996; Goppelt 1982, 179–95); his functions and purposes have been discussed, and his unique perspective and hermeneutic elucidated (Barrett 1947; Gawlick 1996; Boismard 1993; Meeks 1967; Beutler 1996; Behrens 2004; Davidson 2006; Miller 2006; Lincoln 2000; Ashton 2007; Obermann 1996). Genesis (Wyatt 1990; Boismard 1993; Barosse 1959), Exodus (Borgen 1981; Behrens 2004; Boismard 1993; Meeks 1967; Enz 1957; R. H. Smith 1962), the Psalms (Beutler 1978; Daly-Denton 2000; Brunson 2003), Song of Songs (Roberts 1999; McWhirter 2006), Isaiah (Lincoln 2000), Jeremiah (Westermann 1998, 63), and Ezekiel (Manning 2004) have all been suggested as a framework for parts or the whole of the FG.

13 For example, since 1965, there have been no fewer than six monographs focused almost exclusively on John's use of direct quotations (cf. Freed 1965; Bamfylde 1967; Schuchard 1992; Menken 1996; Evans 1982; Sheridan 2012), not to mention all the articles and commentaries that give preferential treatment to the same. This means that approximately fifteen to eighteen (i.e., the number of quotations commonly identified) out of a total eight hundred and forty-nine verses in the FG have received enormous and penetrating exegetical attention. This might be contrasted to studies of the FG's allusions and echoes which, while asserted by nearly all scholars to inhere the FG at almost every single point and level, have certainly not—with the exception, perhaps, of the influence of Genesis in the prologue and the use of Moses traditions throughout the FG—received anything near the same level of scholarly attention.

14 For the view that this is a problem in NT scholarship as a whole, see Goppelt's early assessment (1939; transl. 1982, 198), or the more recent assessment of Porter, who concludes that: 'Passages with explicit quotations still have priority in the discussion. But is this correct? Several reasons indicate that in order to offer a complete assessment of the use

and/or narratively related to one another.¹⁵ As a result, studies aiming to analyze the possibility of what might be considered a grand architectonic 'echo' of the story of scripture in the FG are scarce. In fact, there appears only one scholar in recent history who has attempted to envision such an expansive scriptural framework in the FG.

In 1950 the Swedish scholar Harald Sahlin published *Zur Typologie des Johannesevangeliums* (1950), a work aiming to show

dass das vierte Evangelium als ganzes die Heilstat Jesu Christi als ein Gegenstück zu dem Auszug Israels aus Ägypten und seinem Einzug in das gelobte Land darstellt—ein Gegenstück also zu der heiligen Geschichte, die sich von der Gottesoffenbarung, die Mose im brennenden Dornbusch empfing, bis zur Einweihung des salomonischen Tempels erstreckt.¹⁶

Besides the partial reception by Boismard,¹⁷ Sahlin's proposal has not succeeded in persuading Johannine scholars. J. Kammerstätter found that '[s]eine typologischen Genenüberstellungen können aber kaum voll überzeugen'.¹⁸ Schnackenburg felt that Sahlin 'did violence to the text'.¹⁹ These responses are partly traceable to incredulity about Sahlin's method as it bumps up against the more dynamic style of the FE's narrative. Sahlin's method becomes transparent in working through the monograph. Clearly, and in accord with what

of the OT and related texts in the NT, one must consider all of the available evidence' (Porter 1997, 89). Cf. the similar, though more generalized, judgment in Brooke 2000, 72.

- 15 Both Schuchard (1992) and Menken (1996) deliver invaluable monographs on the FG's use of direct quotations; yet neither of them makes any attempt to relate these findings to John's broader and more covert uses of scripture. The same tendencies apply to studies more attuned to allusions. Köstenberger's recent work (2007) may be seen as a case in point. A flood of possible references are presented, but no attempt is made to see how some of these references might be intrinsically related to the FG's macrostructure.
- 16 'That the Fourth Gospel, as a whole, is the story of the saving grace of Jesus Christ as a counterpart to the exodus of Israel from Egypt and their entry into the Promised Land—a counterpart to the sacred history, from God's revelation to Moses in the burning bush, received up to the opening stretches of Solomon's Temple' (Sahlin 1950, 7, translation mine).
- 17 Boismard 1951.
- 18 'His typological comparisons can hardly convince fully' (J. Kammerstätter, *Zur Struktur des Johannesevangeliums. Seine zentrierte Symmetrie als Träger des kerygmatischen Aktualismus* (unpublished Dissertation: Vienna, 1970). Quoted in Mlakuzhyil 1987, 29 n. 36. See also Mlakuzhyil's own critique in Mlakuzhyil 1987, 29.
- 19 Schnackenburg 1968, 216.

might be expected of a 'literary poetics' that is wed to a 'textual ideology';²⁰ Sahlin had the OT text open beside him on one side of the table and the text of the FG open beside him on the other. Each text was then followed by Sahlin's reading eyes in linear fashion as one passage and page followed the next, and Sahlin tracked what he saw as 'text-to-text' correspondences between them²¹—and frequently in some very subtle and textually nuanced ways. This unflagging commitment to finding text-to-text correspondences often appears to lead Sahlin to 'find' correspondences that strike his critics as less than plausible.²²

Sahlin's method, of course, was a mirror reflection of his supposition about the FE's own method. The FE, in Sahlin's mind, had access to copies of 'Genesis through Kings'²³ and used them as he participated in a robust, if also selectively creative and free, form of verse-by-verse and text-to-text intertextuality. In truth, I am sympathetic to many of the correspondences Sahlin identifies, for I found many of the same correspondences independently of Sahlin by using this exact method when the initial picture of this dissertation was conceived. It is striking, from one angle, just how well this works. Nonetheless, a new approach is necessary if a scriptural tale in the FG is to be credibly demonstrated. For (a) scholars have *not* been convinced that the FG

20 Although I will explore these concepts and their distinction from oral poetics and ideology at far greater depth in Chapter 3, it is helpful to clarify at this point that by 'literary poetics' and 'textual ideology' I am referring to the view that a text is, in essence, the product of a highly skilled writer or writers (although usually only one) who has produced a self-referential, highly interwoven and polished piece or verbal art on 'paper' whilst sitting at a desk. This piece of verbal art, the product largely of an exercise in intra-textual 'coherence-building' (i.e. making sure that all the parts of the composition make sense with all the other parts), is capable of communicating its message to any careful reader armed with the basic linguistic skills and cultural awareness.

21 By 'text-to-text' correspondences, I am referring to the idea that references in signalling texts will be, and maybe even must be, references *to specific signifieds* in other *specific texts*, locatable somewhere in space. Thus, one *text* refers to another *text*, understood chirographically (i.e. the *written* document). See further Chapter 3 below.

22 For example, after having traced the miracles of Jesus' healings of the cripple and invalid in John 4:43–53 and 5:1–15 to Exod 15:16, Sahlin notes that the gift of manna in John 6 corresponds to Exod 16. The fact that there are twelve basketfuls leftover in John 6, therefore, means that 'Dies entspricht Exod 16:23... Die zwölf Körbe von Joh 6 entsprechen den zwölf Stämmen Israels' (Sahlin 1950, 23: 'This corresponds to Exod 16:23... The twelve baskets of John 6 correspond to the twelve tribes of Israel').

23 Or the 'Primary History' or 'Enneateuch'; i.e. a unified and bound *collection* that comprised a coherent and available story. On the anachronism, albeit potential fittingness, of these designations see discussion in Ch. 2 n. 11 below.

unfolds according to any sort of scriptural tale or schema;²⁴ and (b) although it is possible, it is improbable for a variety of media reasons that a text-to-text method of imitation would have been the FE's sole or even primary method of embedding a scriptural framework in the FG.²⁵

It is critical to clarify at this point that an attempt to calibrate a reading of the FG with respect to oral influences and methods of composition will not eclipse or ignore the reality of literacy and distinctively literary forms of art in the FG. As will be demonstrated, the notion of a 'Great Divide' between orality and literacy as it applies to the first century is now a bygone bit of scholarly fiction, even if our conception of 'literature' for first-century texts must be untethered from modern, post-Gutenberg print-culture sensibilities. The reality is that the media environment within the first century was duly complex, comprised of oral *and* literary influences working in tandem. When it comes to textualized manifestations of compositions that likely first took shape in performative environments, both poetics must be attended to, for both compositional influences may be suspected to be operating in the text symbiotically.

Thus, although the oral situation and oral poetic conditioning of the FG will be emphasized in the present study in order to balance swinging pendulums, the world of literacy and literary art forms will not be dismissed. In fact, as I will briefly show in the remainder of this chapter, dismissing the literary nature of the FG and the possibility of distinctly textual influences in exchange for an entirely oral approach would be a mistake. For the reality is that: (a) Johannine scholars who have been approaching the FG from a (largely) literary perspective as a (largely) literary text over the last many years have gone a long way towards exposing the FE's sophisticated use of scripture and, moreover, the possibility of a scriptural tale in the FG; and (b) ongoing study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and other Jewish literature, along with a closer attention paid by certain scholars to Graeco-Roman methods of composition, have shown how literary certain communities in antiquity could be; moreover, these studies have unearthed important insights about how older texts could be, and frequently were, used and/or imitated in the construction of new works. Since we are not bracketing the possibility of the FE's literary facility, awareness of these literary insights is requisite.

24 Many scholars, in fact, seem to have become sceptical about the enterprise as a whole. See, e.g., the comments in Hanson 1992, 241.

25 Again, the rationale for this judgment will be developed in Chapters 2 and 3 below.

1.3 Inklings: Previous Findings via (Largely) Literary Approaches²⁶

Besides the influence of the literary theory of intertextuality,²⁷ which quite naturally leads to maximalist appraisals of the role of subtexts within new texts,²⁸ interest in the FE's connections with scripture have been buttressed by a determination among biblical scholars to proceed on the assumption of literary coherence, focusing as much on synchronic as diachronic aspects of biblical texts.²⁹ It is a determination that, when applied to the FG, has invariably drawn more incisive attention to the FG's use of scripture. This has been well demonstrated by Culpepper's *Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel* (1983), wherein the FE's use of scripture is shown to be apiece with his literary design, as a constituent part of it.³⁰ Additional studies have also exposed the FE's extensive use of

26 For a summary of the rise of literary approaches in the FG, see the introduction in Stibbe 1992 and Brodie 1993, 7.

27 The term 'intertextuality' needs to be used with care. Moyise (2000) has shown that three categories of meaning are now discernible in the literature. See Ch. 3 n. 41 below. Whatever meaning is utilized, the basic insight of intertextual theory is that texts do not exist in isolation but in constant interaction with other texts within their own (or the readers') cultural matrix; consequently, any given author (or reader) will, whether consciously or unconsciously, participate in the 'embedding of fragments of earlier text[s] within' the text being written (or read) (Hays 1989, 14).

28 This has been evident since Richard Hays's use of the concept in *Echoes of Scripture* (1989), which has inspired a steady stream of renewed exploration into the nature and extent to which OT texts are at play in the NT. See, for example, the recent Festschrift for Hays in Hays et al. 2008, which stands as a living testimony to Hays's catalytic influence in this regard.

29 That is, focusing as much on texts in their *final forms* as coherent literary wholes (synchronic) as on the historical and developmental factors that stand behind these finished texts (diachronic). This shift from diachronic to synchronic studies was an attempt to correct a deficiency, because, as Udo Schnelle notes: 'The concentration on the prehistory of the text leads to a disregard of the macrostructure of the gospel's present form' (Schnelle 2001, 353). For discussions on a renewed emphasis on synchronic treatments within Johannine studies, see Nielson 1999, 11–14; and, more recently, Thatcher and Moore 2008; Estes 2008, 171.

30 As becomes evident in reading Culpepper's book, the FE textures his gospel with a temporal point of view by means of a retrospectively-speaking narrator, and—in the light of passages like 12:16 and 12:36b–43—the narrator's retrospective perspective is shown to be intimately bound up with his view of scripture (Culpepper 1983, 30). The FE textures his gospel with the ministrations of narrative time, specifically employing external analepses (i.e. 'any evocation after the fact of an event that took place earlier than the point in the story where we are at any given moment' [56]), at many points in his narrative, and—as is evidenced by texts like John 1:3, 17, 45; 3:14; 4:5–6, 12; 5:46; 6:31, 49; 7:19, 22; 8:33, 40,

scripture. Of particular salience here is how these studies appear to legitimize the suspicion that a scriptural tale exists in the FG.

It is not without significance, for example, that the propensity of Johannine scholarship to focus on the obvious parts of scripture in the FG—to the neglect of the interconnected whole—belies the now widespread impression of Johannine scholarship itself: namely, the impression that not only was the FE distinctively concerned with the whole of scripture over its parts, but that the FE's use of scripture is not piecemeal but panoramic, and far more allusive than direct. As many have observed, although dwarfed in the amount of direct citations in comparison to the Synoptics,³¹ 'what the FG lacks in the quantity of its citations, it makes up for in its overall indebtedness to the Jewish Scriptures for its typology, symbols, allusions and patterns of thought'.³² The FE is no proof-texting exegete. Instead, as one whose mind was thoroughly 'absorbed' in a profoundly reflective knowledge of the OT, his use is seen to span 'virtually the entire OT', form a 'web of intertextuality', fit 'an entire mosaic of OT Scriptures', evince 'complex connexions'; far from an atomistic treatment of scripture, the OT story constitutes the 'matrix' and/or 'backcloth' for the FG.³³ Already in 1947 Barrett insisted that

it was not (in general) [the FE's] method to bolster up the several items of Christian doctrine and history with supports drawn from this or that part of the O.T.; instead the whole body of the O.T. formed a background, or framework, upon which the new revelation rested.³⁴

44, 52–3, 56, 58 (among others)—a multitude of these analepses are designed to 'recall moments in the history of Israel', and in so doing, 'enrich the narrative by extending it back to the beginning of time and by tying it to the central events in the larger biblical story' (58). The FE textures his gospel with the skillful outworking of plot, wherein Jesus' commission to reveal the Father by both 'bearing witness to the truth... and tak[ing] away the sin of the world' (88) is complicated by a world that is hostile to Jesus' revelation, not least of all—as is evident for instance in John 5:39 and 7:42—due to their ignorance of the scriptures; but the plot is resolved when, in a divine *coup de main*, Jesus' two-pronged task is simultaneously completed in his death that is, also, distinctively, the fulfillment of scripture (88–97).

31 According to NA 27, the FG has only fourteen direct citations as opposed to sixty-two in Matthew, twenty-seven in Mark, and twenty-five in Luke. Cf. Moyise 2001, 6.

32 Lincoln 2005, 79.

33 See Barrett 1947, 168; Williams 2005, 101; Köstenberger 2007, 420, 507; Carson 1988, 245; and Hanson 1992, 240–1.

34 Barrett 1947, 168.

One recent scholar has suggested that ‘none of the other evangelists has assimilated the sweep of the biblical story as completely as John’ who has manifested a ‘thorough incorporation of the Bible from start to finish.’³⁵ Another has noted that none of the other books in the NT ‘matches the span of the whole canon’ as comprehensively as the FG.³⁶

Even a cursory reading of the FG upholds these impressions, as a good many of scripture’s most memorable people, institutions, symbols, and currents of thought are either explicitly or implicitly drawn upon.³⁷ Especially important for our purposes is the fact that all the major events rehearsed in retellings of Israel’s story—as found, for example, in ‘Summaries of Israel’s Story’ in scripture (e.g., Ps 78) and/or Jewish tradition (e.g., Jubilees)³⁸—appear variously acknowledged in the FG, including: the creation of the world; Israel’s election under the patriarchs; the exodus from Egypt; the wilderness generation; conquest and settlement in the land; and the reality of exile.³⁹ Statistically, Köstenberger calculates that the FG has fourteen quotations, sixty-seven ‘verifiable’ allusions, and an incalculable number of ‘unverifiable’ allusions.⁴⁰

Whatever the actual numbers of references, it is clear from the *prima facie* evidence that the FE was dialogically engaged with the ‘whole’ story of

35 Miller 2006, 132.

36 Bauckham 2003, 41.

37 For example, everything that occurs from 2:1–19:42 takes place in light of Jewish Feasts and/or cultic practices: ceremonial washing (2:6), Passover (2:12), Jewish propriety and places of worship (4:9, 23–24), a feast of the Jews (5:1), another Passover (6:4), Feast of Tabernacles (7:2, 37), and then a third, long anticipated Passover which culminates in Jesus’ death (12:1, 13:1; 19:14, 31, 41). The Jewish Feasts are themselves emblematic of the chief moments in Israel’s story, annually rehearsing the memory of key past events (See Waltke 2007, 462).

38 On the so-called ‘Summaries of Israel’s Story’, see pp. 54–57 below.

39 John 1:1 is a clear evocation of the creation narrative. Two out of three patriarchs are named (4:6, 12; 8:33), and the rite of circumcision given to ‘the fathers’ is *explicitly* mentioned as occurring along a temporally-fixed narrative continuum (7:22). The Exodus is probably signalled by various ‘lamb’ evocations (1:29, 35; 19:36) and certainly by the repeated mention of Passover (2:13, 23; 4:45; 6:4; 11:55; 12:1; 13:1; 18:28, 39; 19:14). The wilderness generation is signalled, it would seem, explicitly (1:23), and by reference to key memories, such as the ‘snake’ (3:14), ‘manna’ (6:31), and Feast of Tabernacles (7:2). Israel’s imminent conquest and settlement in the land is signalled by references to John and Jesus being ‘beyond the Jordan’ (1:28; 3:26; 10:40), as we will discuss further on p. 238 below. The reality of Israel’s exile is signalled by the promise of resurrection (11:24–6). Cf. Ezek 37 and the apposite comments in Wright 2003, 3:120.

40 Köstenberger 2007, 415–20.

scripture, as it intersects with the 'whole' story of Jesus.⁴¹ It is also apparent that the FE intended his readers to be drawn into an active and imaginative participation in this dialogue. This is to say, it is also quite clear that the FE intended his readers to read/hear his Gospel *stereooptically* (or *stereophonically*), with a *double vision*:⁴² keeping one eye fixed on scripture and one eye fixed on Jesus simultaneously, with reference to the interplay between both sets of data. The literary signals for this dialogical inducement may be quite subtle, but they are also, cumulatively, quite clear.

Johannes Beutler has shown, for example, that the FE's use of the term 'scripture' (γραφῆ) and others like it are frequently nebulous, leaving no specific text or referent in view. Beutler concludes from this not that the author or redactor of the FG was unscrupulous in his referencing but that he was making a subtle, though important, interpretive point. The FE's propensity to use scripture in open-ended ways alerts the reader to the fact that 'John is more interested in Scripture as such than in particular texts pointing to Jesus'.⁴³ Barrett comes to the same conclusion by a different route. In observing the FE's tendency to *embed* allusively what the Synoptic writers quote, Barrett avers that the OT was, for the FE, 'a comprehensive unity, not a mere quarry from which isolated fragments of useful material might be hewn'.⁴⁴

The FE's hermeneutic is also intrinsically dialogical and compels a distinctively dialogical reading. While the FE believes that all the scriptures speak about Jesus, he at once asserts that Jesus is the only key to understanding the scriptures. 'We have found him about whom Moses in the law and also the prophets wrote, Jesus son of Joseph from Nazareth' (1:45), Philip says to Nathanael. 'It is [these scripture] that testify on my behalf,' and 'if you believed Moses, you would believe me, for he wrote about me,' says Jesus about himself (5:39, 46). And yet, unless viewed through the illuminating lens of cross and resurrection, not to mention Jesus' own 'on-par-with-scripture' words, the scripture's true meaning will remain veiled and its ultimate referent unseen. The FE highlights this reality by articulating it at both ends of his Gospel. Speaking of his own death and resurrection at the beginning of the FG, Jesus tells the Jews to 'destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up' (2:19). However, as the FE reveals, it is only 'when, therefore' or 'after' (ὅτε οὖν) he was raised from the dead that 'they believed the scripture and the word that Jesus

41 However this 'whole story' was or could be conceived is an issue we will return to in the next chapter.

42 This phrase is taken from Blake 1994, 146.

43 Beutler 1996, 154.

44 Barrett 1947, 168.

had spoken' (2:22). Likewise at the end of the Gospel, prior to their encounter with the risen Christ, we are told that Peter and the beloved disciple believed Mary's report that Jesus' body had been stolen because 'as yet they did not know the scripture, that he must rise from the dead' (20:9). Thus, multiple signals within the FG compel the reader to look *forward* from the perspective of scripture to see Christ, and multiple other signals compel the reader to look *back* from the perspective of Christ to see scripture. In the interlocking fashion of a double helix, the two sets of data—the story of scripture and the story of Jesus life—are to be drawn and bound together in the mind of the reader if true comprehension is to be attained.

Conceptually, this interpretative dynamic (which shares the hermeneutical approach of *peshet* exegesis)⁴⁵ appears to configure the FG into what David Steinmetz has called a 'second narrative'.⁴⁶ In much the same way as a murder mystery novelist will write a final 'epiphany chapter' for his readers which serves pivotally to reveal 'who has done it and how and why'—and thus present the reader with a hermeneutical key for going back and reading the narrative a 'second' time, making sense this time of all the earlier chapters which can now be seen as inevitably pointing to the present revelation—so the FE presents his Gospel. The beginning is only truly intelligible in light of the end, the first chapter in light of the last; for Jesus, who has climactically fulfilled scripture, *is* the 'second narrative'; he is the epiphanic chapter in the story of scripture and hence the definitive key that unlocks its once hidden meaning. Naturally, the impression this perspective leaves on the reader is that the FE may have been inclined to show his audience(s) just *how it is* that Jesus does or can be seen to unlock the hidden meaning of scripture, perhaps by beginning with 'the beginning' and moving sequentially from there.

The fact that the FE emplots a scriptural lawsuit motif from the beginning to the end of his Gospel, as Andrew Lincoln has shown, adds to the likelihood that the FE might pattern his Gospel after such a sweeping scriptural retelling, for rehearsing key moments from Israel's story was central to

45 Generally, *peshet* exegesis has been defined as a method of scriptural interpretation 'in which the interpreters assert that ancient predictions point at persons and events in the history of the [community] and that these persons and events, divinely chosen and arranged, constitute the fulfillment and supply the meaning of scriptural prophecies' (Vermes 2010, 158). Ashton has further pointed out that *peshet* 'distinguishes itself from midrash by insisting that the *whole* meaning of the ancient text has been unavailable until now' (Ashton 2007, 315). Nonetheless, even if his hermeneutic is similar, the FE does not follow a *peshet* style of exegesis; on this point, see Witmer 2006.

46 Steinmetz 2003.

OT lawsuit motifs.⁴⁷ The recounted events run the gambit from Israel's election, rescue from Egypt, provision in the wilderness, to their being settled in (or exiled from) the land.⁴⁸ In other words, the whole sweep of Israel's story is rehearsed in the course of God's many trials against Israel. Accordingly, if the FE believed (as he did) that God had acted faithfully in Jesus to renew and save Israel, and if he was embroiled in a theological battle with fellow Jews (as the majority of Johannine scholars believe he was),⁴⁹ then the FE could implicitly witness against his Jewish interlocutors, and/or provoke them to faith, by framing his story of Jesus around the key events of Israel's story. Such a framing would powerfully serve to organize his Gospel as a gigantic lawsuit defence. The resonant message would be: as God was faithful in the particulars of the past, my fellow Jews, and your ancestors were unfaithful, so God has been faithful again, *in the same particulars*, and now, *again*, you are being unfaithful.

The additional fact, then, that the FG does begin ἐν ἀρχῇ, with an exact replication of the first words in LXX Gen 1:1, is a first eye-catching provocation of the potential outworking of a scriptural tale. Certainly, the pedagogic value of such a patterning would be immense. In his comments on Jesus' body being the new Temple in 2:20–22, Richard Hays speculates that, at least conceptually, this is precisely what the FE was aiming to do:

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- 47 As Lincoln (2000) indicates but does not explore, one of the key features of OT lawsuit texts is the rehearsal of key events from the past that demonstrate Yahweh's faithfulness and Israel's unfaithfulness (see, e.g., Deut 32; Hos 4; 5; 12:2–14; Mic 6:1–8; and especially Isa 40–55).
- 48 See, e.g., on election: Deut 32:6–9; Hos 9:10; rescue from Egypt: Hos 11:1; 12:9; 12:12–13; 13:4; Mic 6:4a; provision in the desert: Deut 32:1–14; Hos 11:3–4; 12:10; 13:5–6; conquering kings and settling: Mic 6:5.
- 49 In short, although one need not subscribe to all the reconstructive complexities and comprehensive 'two-level' readings promoted in the pioneering works of Martyn (1968) and Brown (1979), there is sufficient evidence in the FG and agreement among Johannine scholars to affirm that, in terms of a general *Sitz im Leben*, the Johannine Christians were recently expelled from the Jewish synagogue and enmeshed in an ongoing conflict with the synagogue and/or other groups of Jews. Centrally, the dispute would have concerned the veracity of considering the *crucified* Jesus as the fulfilment of Jewish hopes. See the recent discussion in Williams 2011a, 211–12; or earlier of Pryor 1992. For a scholar who moved away from a full-scale embrace of a two-level reading, cf. Reinhartz 1992 and 2005, 110–11. The cumulative impact of affirming this historical situation, of course, is to underline one of the motives—i.e. an apologetic/polemic motive—for the Johannine community's use of scripture (besides likely pedagogical motives). This motive is widely recognized (see, e.g., Hanson 1992, 323–4; Carson 1991, 36; Evans 1993, 177; Lincoln 2000, 34–5; Clark-Soles 2003; Ashton 2007, 5, 112 n. 29).

It is not too much to suggest that John, early in his narrative, is teaching his readers how to read. Look beyond the literal sense, he whispers, and read for figuration. Read Scripture retrospectively, in light of the resurrection.⁵⁰

Richard Morgan's observation about the theme of fulfillment in the FG as it coalesces with an insight by Francis Moloney certainly adds to the impression that the FE intends his Gospel to be read in constant interaction with core scriptural narratives. By persistently informing his readers that Jesus is the 'greater', the 'true', the 'the', says Morgan,⁵¹ the FE not only underscores the explicit proclamation that Jesus fulfills (πληρώω) scripture,⁵² but also the more implicit reality that Jesus fulfills scripture specifically by means of recapitulation, or typological re-enactment. That is to say, pivoting on the twin principles of correspondence in history and escalation,⁵³ the FE claims that Jesus does what scriptural personages and figures did or were meant to do, but Jesus does them better, and thus fulfills the intention for which they were either called or existed.⁵⁴ The implication for the implied reader's interaction with the FG is that they are prompted to ask just how it is that Jesus recapitulates these particular personages and figures that he is said to fulfill. So, for instance, when Jesus is said or implied to be *the* temple, the *greater* Jacob, and the *greater* Moses, the reader is naturally led to ask, 'But what makes Jesus *the* temple, and why is he *greater* than Jacob and Moses? It is a dynamic that, quite naturally, gets the reader dialogically involved, looking back and forth between Jesus and the scriptures in order to assess the similarities and differences between them.⁵⁵ What is perhaps even more suggestive about this reading dynamic, however, is that these are questions that the FE answers—and if not via explicit *telling* then at least by *showing*. Jesus is the true temple because in him, at last, the presence of God is manifest.⁵⁶ He is greater than

50 Hays 2003, 221.

51 E.g., he is greater than Jacob (4:12), and greater than Abraham (8:53), and greater than Moses (1:17; 6:32). He is the true light (1:9), true bread (6:32), true vine (15:1). Additionally he is the only begotten (3:16, 18), the Christ (3:29; 20:30), the Prophet (1:21), the King of Israel (1:49), the Savior of the World (4:42), the Lamb (1:29), the Way (14:6), and the Good Shepherd (10:11).

52 Cf. 12:38; 13:18; 15:25; 17:12; 19:24; 19:28; 19:36.

53 See Goppelt 1982, esp. 17–18, 198–205; see also Fishbane 1985, 350–79.

54 Morgan 1957, 161. So also Carson 1988, 256.

55 Goppelt states: 'Most typological allusions are intended to evoke comparison with the OT passages that they bring to mind' (Goppelt 1982, 198–9).

56 Cf. 1:14, 18; 2:20–22; Coloe 2001; and Chapters 4 and 5 below.

Jacob because, although Jacob provided his bride with water from a well, Jesus provides his bride with water unto eternal life.⁵⁷ Jesus is greater than Moses because, although Moses was a man of signs (σημείον), specifically used by God to bring manna from heaven, Jesus is also a man of signs (σημείον) who is the *true* manna from heaven bringing eternal life.⁵⁸

Thus, it seems to be a predictable artistic affect: when the FE suggests that Jesus fulfills scripture in one way or another, his propensity is to show—or at least to embed clues that show—just how Jesus does so.⁵⁹

This dynamic makes Francis Moloney's insight into the FE's use of scripture especially intriguing. In a recent article entitled 'The Gospel of John: the "End" of Scripture',⁶⁰ Moloney argues that from the beginning to the end of the FG the witness of scripture and the events of Jesus' life are meticulously emplotted together. Seven direct citations are marshalled in the first half of the Gospel during Jesus' public ministry, and another six (or seven) references to scripture are marshaled in the second half of the Gospel after the Greeks come and Jesus announces that his 'hour' to be 'lifted up' and 'glorified' has come.⁶¹ The citations in the first half are deployed to provide background to the proclamation to the Jews about who Jesus is: he is Lord (1:23), Temple (2:17), Living Bread (6:31), Son of God (10:34), and King (12:13, 15). The citations in the second half are deployed to proclaim that it is specifically in Jesus' rejection and death that the scriptures are fulfilled (πληρώω).⁶² Moloney then points out how in 19:28–30a, in distinction from the others in its set, the FE twice uses the word τελέω to describe Jesus' fulfillment—a word which has the rich double sense of the arrival of the end because time has passed and of a deed or task coming to its 'final and perfect accomplishment'.⁶³ The point the FE is making, says Moloney, is striking:

57 3:29; 4:12–14; McWhirter 2006, esp. 106.

58 Cf., e.g., Exod 3:12; 4:8, 17, 28, 30; 7:3, 9; 8:19; 10:1; 11:9; 12:13; Jn 2:11, 23; 3:2; 4:48; 6:2, 26; 7:31; 9:16; 11:47; 12:37; 20:30. See also Meeks 1967, 291; and further in section 7.2.2 below.

59 The same dynamic is present in the FE's use of symbols more generally. This point is made by Dorothy Lee, who argues that 'each narrative is created to unfold a central symbol and the development of that symbol, in turn, draws out the narrative. . . . The reader is drawn subjectively into the drama and challenged to make the authentic response of faith' (Lee 1995, 11).

60 Moloney 2009. Cf. Moloney 2005; D. M. Smith 2000.

61 Without conflating the two quotations in 19:36 and 37 (as Moloney does) seven quotations are counted. See further on p. 275 below.

62 See again n. 52 above.

63 Moloney 2009, 360.

The death of Jesus not only fulfils the promises of Israel's sacred Scriptures, but it brings them to their "perfect end," their *telos*. . . "It is accomplished" (v. 30a: *tetelestai*). The carefully plotted use of the Sacred Scripture of Israel across the FG, read in close conjunction with the unfolding of Jesus' story, leads steadily to its climax: "It is accomplished." This is a first, and very important, indication that the revelation of the glory of God in and through the death of Jesus, as told in the story of the Gospel of John, is the "end," the fulfillment, of the biblical story.⁶⁴

The implication is hard to miss. If the FE's literary inclination is to show what he tells when he makes a claim about the nature of Jesus' fulfillment, then the FE's implicit claim that Jesus fulfills the biblical story may be a tip-off to a demonstration of the same.

John Ashton's contention, following Bultmann, that Jesus as the 'Word' (λόγος) of God is directly associated with scripture as the Word (λόγος) of God, and that the Gospel is, therefore, essentially a story about the 'fate of revelation', once again lends strength to this suggestion.⁶⁵ As Israel and the world responded to the revelation in the past, by and large rejecting it—even though a remnant are enabled to respond and are saved—so now in the FG. History repeats itself. The plotline is reduplicated. In line with this, Martin Hengel has convincingly argued that the FE has theologically constructed his prologue up to v. 13 as a superbly condensed retelling of the scriptural story, especially as it concerns Adam and Israel's response to the 'un-fleshed' λόγος of God. Verse 14 then introduces us to the 'en-fleshed' λόγος of God in anticipation of the narrative that follows.⁶⁶

Although I will be taking this up more fully in Chapters 4 and 5, I may point out here how this condensed retelling of the story of Adam and Israel in the prologue may indicate a similar, if considerably expanded, retelling of an Adam/Israel story in the body of the FG. In the first instance, OT prophetic and apocalyptic literature pivots on the notion that history *will* repeat itself: as God acted in the beginning, so God will act in the end.⁶⁷ Furthermore, prologues and introductions were designed in antiquity to manage a reader's/hearer's expectations of what was to come. Aristotle insisted that an 'exordia' should

64 Moloney 2009, 360.

65 Ashton 2007, 367.

66 Hengel 2008. So, in his own way, Wright 1992, 1:410–17.

67 See, e.g., Hos 1:10; 2:14–23; 3:5; Mic 7:15–20; Isa 1:26; 10:26; 11:16; 52:4–10; Jer 23:3–8. See also Fishbane 1985, 356.

'make clear what is the end (*telos*) of the discourse',⁶⁸ a principle to which NT authors frequently adhere.⁶⁹ In his full-scale narrative commentary, Moloney avers that the FG's prologue '*must be* fundamental to the narrative structure of the Gospel', for whereas the prologue is the 'telling', the subsequent narrative is the 'showing'.⁷⁰ The scriptural rehearsal of the prologue, therefore, adds support to the notion of a scriptural tale in the body of the FG.

Perhaps the greatest literary telltale that the FE has arranged his story of the Word according to some kind of storyboard design, however, with at least some sort of eye or gesture toward the overarching narrative of scripture, is perceptible in his framing. With a vision that stretches beyond the horizon of the Synoptics, instead of framing his story of Jesus with Isaiah and resurrection (cf. Mark 1:2; 16:6–8), or Abraham and the 'end of the age' (cf. Matt 1:1; 28:20), or even with Adam and ascension (cf. Luke 3:38; 24:51), the FE frames his Gospel in a way that presumes to comprehend all purposive time—from *arche* (ἀρχή; 1:1; cf. Gen 1:1) to *telos* (τέλεω, 19:28, 30; cf. Gen 2:1), capturing *in nuce* what both OT and NT authors considered to be the ultimate eschatological trajectory of scripture, which moves from creation to new creation (cf. Isa 65:17–25; Rev 21:1–22:5).⁷¹ In addition to once again inviting his readers into a stereophonic hearing of the whole sweep of scripture, the FE appears to frame his Gospel with a decisive question: how is it exactly that Jesus brings this world from creation to new creation? Does he in any sense antitypically repeat the history and/or vocation of Adam and Israel in the process of fulfilling it?

68 *Rhetoric*, Book 2, 1515a. For a more comprehensive discussion of the foreshadowing use of 'introductions', 'entrances', and 'prologues' in ancient rhetorical settings, and in the FG, see the introductory chapter of E. Harris 2004.

69 Cf. Puskas 1989, 140–2; Johnson 1999, 268–9.

70 Moloney 1993, 23. Also Culpepper 1998, 110–11, 116: 'The most important function of the prologue is to prepare readers to read the rest of the Gospel... foreshadowing the plot and themes of the story that is about to be told'.

71 The FG begins with 'the beginning' (1:1; cf. Gen 1:1) and, after completing (τετέλεσται; 19:30; Gen 2:1: συνετέλεσθησαν) Jesus' work on the cross, ends with a new beginning: on the 'first' (μῆ) day of the week (20:1; cf. Gen 1:5), with the light of the world overcoming the pre-dawn 'darkness' (σκοτία; 20:1; cf. Gen 1:5), in 'a garden' (19:41; cf. Gen 2:8), with Mary who is generically but suggestively called 'woman' (γυνή, 20:15; cf. Gen 2:22–25), only to meet a band of disciples who are vivified in Adamic fashion via 'breathing' (ἐνεφύσησεν, 20:22; cf. Gen 2:7). Cf. Goppelt 1982, 180–1; Griffith-Jones 2013.

1.4 Precedent: Literary Forms of Rewriting, Retelling, and Mimesis

As with NT studies in general, the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) in 1947 have triggered a continual influence over the last decades in generating studies into the FE's use of scripture. This is due in no small part to the overdrawn view of the FG's Hellenistic background that was put into check by the considerable similarities between the FG and DSS—not least of all their uses of scripture.⁷²

Of particular importance for the present study is the discovery at Qumran of the so-called 'Rewritten Bible' texts, as Vermes dubbed them. These works consistently show 'a close attachment, in narrative and themes, to some book contained in the present Jewish canon of Scripture, and some type of reworking, whether through rearrangement, conflation, or supplementation, of the present canonical text'.⁷³ The fundamental purpose of these texts was

72 Indeed, despite the undercurrent of biblical scholarship that insisted on the FG's Jewish roots and indebtedness to the OT (Carson 1988, 245), the prevailing current of Johannine studies during the first half of the twentieth century proceeded on the assumption of Hellenistic and Gnostic underpinnings (for a brief survey of how this situation developed and became concretized in the early 20th century, see Carson 1988; Charlesworth 1996, 65–6; Evans 1993, 13–14). Few studies on John's use of the OT were undertaken at this time. Striking affinities between John and the DSS, however, especially (to begin with) their dualistic language, provided ample evidence that 'it is altogether unnecessary to account for John's language . . . by appealing to a late *Hellenistic* environment' (Carson 1991, 34; cf. D. Moody Smith 2008, 15). The FG became seen as entirely comprehensible within a Jewish milieu, and, thus, as predominantly written on the backdrop of distinctively Jewish concerns and texts (see Charlesworth 1996, 65; Carson 1988, 245; Marshall 1988, 11; D. Moody Smith 2008, 15–16; D. Moody Smith 2001, 345; Schnelle 2001, 352; Burge 2001, 362; Schuchard 1992, xiii.). This recognition naturally sent Johannine researchers into dialogical engagement with these texts to examine the possible overlaps between the two. Tumults of specific parallels have been discovered. For example: both the FG and DSS are saturated in scripture (see Chester 1988, 141); both regard scripture as the chief object of interpretative concern (Wall 2001, 217–18; Carson 1988, 258–9); both regard their community's founder as providing the true hermeneutic or *peshet* of scripture (Marshall 1988, 11–14; Menken 1996, 208); both evince apocalyptic themes and conventions (Ashton 2007, 307, 311, 324–9; cf. Rowland 1988, 171; Rowland 2005, 129, 143–4; Collins 2000, 137–8); and both share similar theological themes (e.g., creation, wisdom, predestination, the significance of the temple, Jacob traditions, places of worship, Jesus as High Priest, the Spirit of Truth, love of community members, revelation, the use of key biblical figures like Moses; for discussions of these and other select themes, see Aage 1999; Fitzmeyer 2005).

73 Quoted in Crawford 2008, 2–3. Some find the appellation 'Rewritten Bible' misleading, given that there was no single fixed and bound canon at this time (cf. Campbell 2005; Crawford 2008, 9). For a recent defence of this nomenclature, see Vermes 2010, 217.

ideological. Parts or the whole of Israel's story would be 'rewritten', not in order to supplant these texts but in order to offer new generations authoritative retellings and supplemental reinterpretations of Israel's history.⁷⁴ In this way, the author could potentially reshape the way in which these seminal texts would be read.⁷⁵ The number of texts found at Qumran which fit into this genre—or, more likely, category⁷⁶—of literature are substantial.⁷⁷ An abundance of books and passages from scripture, the Pseudepigrapha, and other Second Temple Jewish literature have also been found to participate in this general class of literature.⁷⁸

Graeco-Roman literature also evinces the practice of reusing older texts for the production of new ones. Indeed, it is worth highlighting that the modern impulse toward 'novelty' in the literary craft is a relatively new phenomenon. According to Thomas Brodie, the impulse of the ancient Graeco-Roman orators and writers, possibly since Plato, was to re-craft and re-present already

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- 74 As Brooke says, a Rewritten Bible's 'chief characteristic is to explain incidents in the base narrative so as to make them more easily understood by or acceptable to a particular audience. . . . Commonly, there is a polemical edge to the retelling, such as with the treatment of Genesis or Exodus in the book of Jubilees . . . The main interest is in re-presenting the story correctly according to a particular viewpoint' (Brooke 2000, 67; cf. Crawford 2008, 67–80; Evans 2005, 70; Alexander 1988, 100; Chester 1988, 165; and Salvesen 2002, who, after examining a cross-section of Rewritten Bible texts, avers that '*all* presented apologetic views of Jewish history and Scripture' (327, emphasis mine).
- 75 For example, although not a DSS, Beutler notes how the Chronicler 'hopes that his book would be read after Genesis-Kings, and to the extent that it was different, the Chronicler wanted his account to be the one remembered by the reader' (Brettler 1995, 22).
- 76 Whether Rewritten Bible texts ought to be considered a distinct genre is disputed. Some prefer to refer to Rewritten Bible texts more broadly as a 'category' instead of as a 'genre' of literature. Cf. Campbell 2005, 48–9; Brooke 2000, 777.
- 77 E.g. 1QGenesis Apocryphon, 4QReworked Pentateuch a–e (4Q158, 364–67), 4QTargum on Leviticus (4Q156), 4QApocryphon of Joshua (4Q178–79), 4QApocryphe d'Élisée (4Q481a), Elements in 4QNon-canonical Psalms A–B (4Q380–81), 4QPsEzek a–e (4Q385, 385b, 386, 388, 391), and 11QTemple a–c (11QTa–c[11Q19–21]).
- 78 For examples in scripture, see Chronicles, Deuteronomy, and the studies of Brettler 1995, 20–46; H. G. M. Williamson 1988, 35; Bauckham 2003, 42–3; A. A. Anderson 1988, 56–7; Bruce 1954, 141–63; Witherington 1998, 259–78, esp. 277; Brooke 2000, 67. On pseudepigraphical retellings, see Jubilees; *L.A.B.*; Prayer of Manasseh, Pss 151–155, 4 *Ezra*, 2 *Bar*, *T. 12 Patr.*, Testament of Job, *1 En.*, *Apoc. Adam*, *Treat. Shem*. On other Second Temple literature, see especially Josephus' *Antiquities*. Many of the texts just listed are cited in the work of Alexander 1988. It is not always clear from my perspective, however, that all the texts just listed actually used 'texts' as such in their retelling or rehearsals of Israel's story. Some of these retellings may also have been composed without the use of texts.

written texts.⁷⁹ Considering the earthly world below as an imitation of the unchanging forms which existed in the empyrean world above, Plato was a philosophical precursor to Aristotle who suggested that all art is, in fact, imitation—*mimesis*—for art imitates nature (even as ‘earth’ imitates ‘heaven’).⁸⁰ Isocrates insisted that ‘in verbal composition,’ the student should imitate his teacher.⁸¹ The rationale for doing so, the ancients believed, was not only rooted in the conviction that a civilization’s heritage was common property, but that any new and worthy work was to be hewn out of the valuable past. Quintillian (35–100 CE) said that ‘although invention came first and is all important, it is expedient to imitate whatever has been invented with success.’⁸² Cicero (106–43 BCE) suggested that, pedagogically, his first counsel was to ‘show the student [of rhetoric] whom to copy.’⁸³ Mimesis is evident in lyrical, pastoral, and didactic forms of poetry, as well as in comedy, satire, tragedy, and epic. Imitation was pervasive and celebrated, as monumentally demonstrated by Virgil’s *Aeneid*.⁸⁴

In sum, the practice of creatively reusing and/or retelling older texts for newer audiences both within the DSS, certain biblical texts, and the wider Graeco-Roman world is well attested. This is significant for the present study for at least three reasons.

First, as George Brooke has noted, in light of the precedent for rewriting practices in the DSS alone, ‘The scrolls provide justification for a fresh consideration of whether Matthew’s Gospel is a deliberate attempt to imitate a Pentateuch, or whether Luke structures his Gospel on the narrative framework of Deuteronomy’⁸⁵—and, we would add, whether the FE structures his Gospel after Genesis–Kings.

79 See Brodie 2004, 3–30.

80 *On Poetics*, chapters 1–5.

81 *Against the Sophists* 17–18. See Brodie 2004, 4.

82 *Institutio Oratoria* 10.2.1. See Brodie 2004, 4.

83 *De Oratore* 2.21.90. See Brodie 2004, 6.

84 The *Aeneid*, observes Brodie, ‘stands at the apex of Roman literary achievement . . . Here the use of imitation is comprehensive and complex. The *Aeneid* synthesizes and reshapes the best of previous dramatic and epic writers, whether Greek, Alexandrian, or Roman, but above all, it involves a systematic rethinking and Romanizing of the foundational work of Homer. In C. G. Hardies’ summary (1970, 1126), Virgil’s debt to Homer ‘ranges from overall structure, the compositional device of retrospective narrative . . . the adaptation of whole episodes, games . . . catalogues . . . to the transformation of incidents, the imitation of similes . . . and turns of thought or phrase’ (Brodie 2004, 9).

85 Brooke 2000, 70.

Second, it is an axiom of hermeneutical theory that readers who are aware of genre or literary conventions will, given sufficient signals, read with an appropriate set of expectations.⁸⁶ The fact that the FE does not 'retell' a scriptural tale explicitly should not preclude investigation. The genre of the FG is disputed, but there is no reason to suppose in light of retelling practices that ancient readers or hearers would not have interpreted the FE's evocative prologue as a cue to receive his Gospel in creative dialogue with scripture—again, by beginning with 'the beginning' (1:1; Gen 1:1) and moving onward from there. Philip Alexander has demonstrated that Rewritten Bible texts invite their readers to 'carry on an intense, if silent, dialectic with the original'.⁸⁷ They prompt this sort of reading because they tend to deal with scripture more implicitly than explicitly, presuming upon their reader's biblical knowledge by re-presenting the foundational narratives in tacit ways. Indeed,

unlike rabbinic midrash, the actual words of Scripture do not remain highlighted within the body of the text, either in the form of lemmata, or by the use of citation-formulae... [Rewritten Bible texts] constitute a kind of commentary. This commentary is, however, *indirect*, and its full significance can only be grasped if the original is borne constantly in mind.⁸⁸

Brodie makes a similar observation, noting that Rewritten Bible texts among the DSS and beyond them do not always reproduce the verbal characteristics of the texts they are reworking.⁸⁹ Sidnie Crawford has additionally demonstrated that, even within this general realm of indirect re-presentation, there is an impressively wide spectrum of how authors variously undertook to rewrite base texts according to higher and lower levels of explicitness. Some texts remain very close to their base texts, following them and reproducing them in highly recognizable ways, and others reproduce them more obliquely, exercising a greater degree of creative freedom, adding more commentary and

86 Tate 2008, 89–93.

87 Alexander 1988, 116.

88 Alexander 1988, 116. For example, 'the author of Genesis Apocryphon thinks ahead, and does not (as often happens in rabbinic midrash) treat the Bible atomistically as a series of discrete statements' but instead wears his [exhaustive biblical] learning very easily; he introduces it unobtrusively into an attractive and readable retelling of the biblical text' (Alexander 1988, 107). So also Campbell: 'The interpretation of [Rewritten Bible texts] is generally covert, while the base text's genre and content are followed closely' (Campbell 2005, 48).

89 Brodie 2004, 30. Also see Allen 2008, 18.

supplementary material throughout the new work.⁹⁰ The same is manifestly true of the Graeco-Roman mimetic literature.⁹¹

The point here is not that the FG is a Rewritten Bible or Graeco-Roman mimetic text in any formal sense. Any attempt to make that claim will almost certainly fail.⁹² Instead, I am attempting to establish that, given the precedent for this basic category of literature, it is not impossible that the FE could have operated in broad structural conformity with this brand of literature and expected his readers or hearers to pick up on it, even if he has done so in a way that is *sui generis*.

Third, the array of exegetical and adaptive techniques apparent in Rewritten Bible and Graeco-Roman mimetic literature present several promising interpretive possibilities in approaching the FE's potential uses of scripture. Crawford has determined, for example, that Rewritten Bible texts, even those that are only found within the DSS, share all the techniques familiar to

90 See Crawford 2008, 14. Cf. Charlesworth 2003, 253–82; Evans 2005, 69; Vermes 2010, 160–5.

91 Brodie suggests, for example, that within the Graeco-Roman tradition this span includes: (1) adapting an original text in minor ways by means of *paraphrase*, (2) adapting a text in more significant ways by means of *inventive imitation*: an 'unpredictable blending of fidelity and creativity'; (3) adapting a text in even more significant ways by means of *emulation*: 'a desire to transform the subtext or model text into a text that would be as good as the first or even better . . . motivated by a desire not so much to destroy as to fulfill, to move from the old text to a text that would be nearer to the contemporary world and to a certain ideal of perfection'; (4) and adapting an original text or texts in major ways by means of *contamination*: 'fusing several texts or parts of texts into a new unity. The idea was to select and synthesize the best elements of a tradition'. There was additional flexibility within these models; as Quintillian admired Cicero whom he observed 'combined in himself 'the force (*vim*) of Demosthenes, the copious flow (*copiam*) of Plato and the charm (*iucunditatem*) of Isocrates' (Brodie 2004, 7). For a similar summary and identifications, see Moyise 1995, 188–20.

92 Besides the media questions yet to be discussed in the following chapters, this is true even from a purely literary perspective; for, whereas the Rewritten Bible literature at Qumran—however subtle and implicit its *commentary* upon scripture may be—is quite explicit about the *fact* of its retelling, the FG is not. This is to say, whether one is reading the Temple Scroll or the Genesis Apocryphon (whether a Rewritten Bible text at one end of Crawford's spectrum or the other, see n. 90) the reader *knows* that they are reading a retelling of scripture, because the signals are clear: the retellings are superstructural. The same is not true of the FG. Super-structurally, the FG is a story about Jesus. If it is *also* a retelling of the story of scripture, it is so imperceptibly, substructurally. Indeed we must conclude that if the FE is retelling scripture in any sense, then he has chosen to do so (at least from our perspective) quite enigmatically.

inner-biblical exegesis.⁹³ Brodie has shown a similarly vast scope of techniques operating in the Graeco-Roman literature.⁹⁴ This means that assuming the FE was familiar with either or both of these traditions, he would have had precedent to adapt, re-present, and reconfigure Israel's story within his own Gospel in a multiplicity of creative and complex ways, and for a wide variety of reasons.⁹⁵ I will restrict myself within this introduction to offering just one salient example of how an appreciation for Graeco-Roman mimetic and Jewish exegetical technique may facilitate discovering a scriptural tale in the FG.

A crux that has long bedeviled an understanding of the FE's use of the OT is the FE's referential ambiguity. The FG is manifestly allusive and elusive, and thereby resistant to critical controls. This is true, it may be added, with reference to whatever mode of scriptural referencing the FE is engaged. Whether the FE is evoking scripture by way of his relatively few explicit quotations, his various appeals to the authority of 'scripture',⁹⁶ his numerous 'verifiable' allusions,⁹⁷ or his incalculable number of 'echoes', it is characteristic of the FE's style to leave his specific intentions and textual referents unclear and unspecified, thereby eschewing the reader's simple identification of signified texts and consequent extrapolation of meaning. For example, of the FE's fourteen direct quotations, no fewer than four of them have been seen to refer to two

93 Crawford 2008, 126. The term 'inner-biblical' exegesis was originally coined by Michael Fishbane to refer to the exegetical techniques used by scriptural authors to comment upon, re-signify, and/or render contemporary an older document in the process of its transmission (see Fishbane 1985, 7–19).

94 See Brodie 2004, 8–13.

95 As with his antecedents and contemporaries, for example, the FE could have added, omitted, reorganized, transposed, substituted, clustered, and conflated his base text in order to either juxtapose, contrast, compare, explain, expand, reinterpret, undermine, and/or harmonize these base texts for modern audiences. Cf. the discussions and examples in Brodie 2004, 8–13; Fishbane 1985, 13; Moyise 1995, 85–138; Brettler 1995, 20–63; Vermes 2010, 119–65; Segal 2000.

96 Cognates of the noun *γραφή* occur twelve times (2:22; 5:39; 7:38, 42; 10:35; 13:18; 17:12; 19:24, 28, 36; 20:9); the verb *γράφω* occurs nineteen times, sixteen times in reference to the Jewish scriptures (1:45; 2:17; 5:46; 6:31, 45; 8:17; 10:34; 12:14, 16; 15:25; 19:19; 20:30; 21:24). Likewise, the 'Law', *νόμος*, is referred to fifteen times (1:17, 45; 7:19 [2×], 23, 49, 51; 8:5, 17; 10:34; 12:34; 15:25; 18:31; 19:7 [2×]), and 'Prophets', *προφῆτης*, fourteen times—four times as an appellation for scripture (1:23, 45; 6:45; 12:38).

97 Again, Köstenberger (2007, 419–20) identifies sixty-seven 'verifiable' allusions in the FG (1:1, 14, 17, 18, 21, 29, 36, 45, 49, 51; 2:5; 3:3, 8, 13, 14, 16, 28; 4:5, 10, 14, 20, 22, 36, 37; 5:27, 29, 45, 46; 6:14, 29; 7:22, 24, 38, 40, 42, 51; 8:12, 15, 17, 28, 35, 44; 9:2, 5, 24, 34; 10:3–4, 8, 16, 33; 12:8, 27, 32, 34, 41; 15:1; 16:22, 32; 17:12; 19:7, 18, 28–29, 31, 38; 20:22, 23).

or more possible OT texts.⁹⁸ Of the FE's thirty-one references to 'scripture', nine leave the specific scripture or prophet in view unidentified and unclear,⁹⁹ while another nine simply refer to 'the scriptures' generally without any specific text in view.¹⁰⁰ Even of the sixty-seven or so 'verifiable' allusions, many of them turn out upon closer examination to be complex and referentially indeterminable.¹⁰¹ As Barrett observed in a seminal essay over sixty years ago, key allusive images in the FG have a multiplicity of possible referents.¹⁰²

The problem that this kind of ambiguity presents when attempting to locate and certify an OT narrative underpinning in the FG is conspicuous. If certain key allusions to scripture within the FG are integral to demonstrating a scriptural scheme but cannot be credibly shown to belong to this scheme because of referential over-determination, then the project is paralyzed from the start. For example, suppose I wanted to argue that the reference to Jesus as the 'lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world' in John 1:29 is integral to a larger unfolding scriptural picture being evoked in the Gospel. And suppose I wanted to argue, in particular, that the narrative referent in view in this text is Isaac. In this case, if I am operating under a paradigm of interpretation that requires references to be explained by identification to single scriptural referents, I will find that my bid to demonstrate the presence of this marker along a narrative continuum is severely complicated, if not made impossible. This is true, of course, because the phrase 'lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world' is referentially over-determined. It could refer to Genesis 22:7–8; but it could also refer to the paschal lamb of Exodus 12, the sin-carrying lamb of Isaiah 53:7, the self-description of Jeremiah as the 'gentle lamb led to the slaughter' in Jeremiah 11:19, or either of the sin-bearing ceremonies recounted in Leviticus 9 or 16. It may even refer to the warrior lamb of Jewish apocalyptic. To which text it actually refers, as Barrett concluded, is difficult to say.¹⁰³ By 1988, forty-one years later, Carson had still to announce that, with regard

98 6:31=Ps 78:24 or Exod 16:4, 15?; 6:45=Isa 54:13 or Jer 31:31–34?; 15:25=Ps 35:19 or Ps 69:5?; 19:36=Exod 12:46, Ps 34:12, or Num 9:12?. See Carson 1988.

99 6:31; 7:37–38; 7:42; 12:14; 12:16; 15:25; 17:12; 19:28, 36.

100 1:45; 2:22; 5:39; 5:45; 7:15; 7:52; 10:35; 12:16; 20:9. See Beutler 1996, 152.

101 Remarkably, twenty-three of Köstenberger's sixty-seven allusions—which he says can 'be determined with a reasonable degree of confidence' (2007, 419–20)—are nonetheless still complicated by there being either *no* or *several* possible OT texts in view.

102 Barrett 1947.

103 There is a terminological variance between John 1:29 and Exod 12 (ἀμνός vs. πρόβατον, along with the theological fact that the paschal lamb was never explicitly said to take away sin); a thematic variance in that the lamb is said to be 'shorn' not killed in Isa 53:7; a typological variance in the Day of Atonement ceremony of Leviticus 16:21 which uses

to this particular crux, 'a consensus has not yet been reached'.¹⁰⁴ The crux remains today. On the basis of this interpretive methodology, therefore—a method which appears to persist largely unquestioned in biblical studies¹⁰⁵—if a *single* external referent cannot be conclusively isolated and identified, and others properly dismissed, neither can a scriptural tale be credibly discovered.

An appreciation for the Graeco-Roman and Jewish techniques of synthesis propels us beyond this paralysis. Unlike techniques of transformation, which essentially alter or change aspects of subtexts in various ways, synthesis refers to ways in which an author brings together and/or amalgamates aspects of subtexts into new and complex unities. Synthesis is a feature of Rewritten Bible texts in particular that Craig Evans has found 'to be one of the most striking aspects of Rewritten Bible texts: the tendency to utilize scripture from elsewhere in the Bible to elaborate on the biblical story at hand'.¹⁰⁶ Critical to understanding this technique is the concept of analogical association.¹⁰⁷ Common words, themes, and ideas are associated on the basis of analogical links, and in a large variety of unexpected ways.¹⁰⁸ This kind of association of

a goat instead of a lamb; and no clear indication that the other possible references are intended either. See Barrett 1947, 156.

104 Carson 1988, 253.

105 For example, in his recently published dissertation, Christopher Beetham asserts that 'essential to an allusion is that an allusion has in each instance, a *single identifiable* source' (Beetham 2008, 18, emphasis mine).

106 Evans 2005, 70. Alexander also suggests that non-biblical sources and traditions were also commonly synthesized in the new work for harmonizing purposes: 'By fusing this material with the biblical narrative the rewritten bible texts appear to be aiming at a synthesis of the whole tradition (both biblical and extra-biblical) within a biblical framework: they seek to unify the tradition on a biblical base. Though they accord the Bible priority in the synthesis they have a high regard for non-biblical tradition' (Alexander 1988, 118).

107 See Schuchard 1992, xv.

108 'Moving from text to text is often facilitated by common word or phrase (*g'zera sawa*)', observes Moyise. Within Revelation 1, for example, it appears 'that the word 'earthquake' led the author of the *Shirot* from Ezekiel 3 to 1 Kgs 19. The use of 'like the sound of' in Ezek 1.24, 43.2 allows the link with Dan 10.6 in John's inaugural vision'. (Moyise 1995, 107). Similarly, Chilton has pointed to the thematic association of passages in Philo for whom, apparently, in *Leg.* iii, 'the notion of eating earth in Gen 3:14 brings on the idea of the soul being fed by knowledge (161). This is the trigger for coping with the episode of the manna in Exodus 16 (162–73) and Deuteronomy 8 (174–6); the subsidiary motif of Exodus 12 is explained by the theme of the Passover, the context episode of the manna' (Chilton 1988, 130). In essence, concludes Chilton, such linkage and 'movement from passage to passage [also] falls well within the conventional, rabbinic understanding of what degree of analogy in wording or substance might justify the association of passages' (130).

passages and consequent synthesizing in new texts was effected in two main ways:

1. **Clustering:** bringing two or more diverse texts together, side-by-side, to the effect of making a new, unified but complex whole, as in a string of quotations, images, or themes in a passage.¹⁰⁹
2. **Fusion/Conflation:** the bringing together of diverse texts in ways that essentially merge their fundamental elements into new and oftentimes largely undifferentiated wholes.

A multiplicity of different elements from texts have been found to be fused, including the fusion of words ('catchwords'), phrases, laws, themes, descriptions, narratives, people, and even entire books. For example, whereas the MT and LXX version of Gen 32:29[31] reads simply, 'Then [the Lord] blessed [Jacob] there', 4Q158, lines 7–10, articulates the content of the blessing by fusing the language from blessings found in Gen 1:28, 17:6ff, and 28:3 saying, '[And he bles]sed him there, and he said to him, "May the Lo[rd] make you fruitful [and multiply] you [...] until this day and for everlast[ing] generations [...]" And he walked in his way when he blessed him there'.¹¹⁰ Examples of these sorts of fusions could be multiplied at considerable length.¹¹¹ The basic point to be made here is that whole texts and/or aspects of various texts could be synthesized on the basis of analogy in all sorts of ways, depending on the ideological impulse of the author.

Returning to some implications for the study of the FG, if I may proceed on the notion that the FE may have fused varieties of textual referents in order to create and evoke new multivalent unities, then instead of needing to seek the meaning for a given allusive image in a single determinative referent, I am liberated to assess the hypothesis that any multi-referencing icon may be the product of analogous reasoning and consequent theological fusion. Instead of paralyzing my effort to discern the presence of a particular marker within a larger scriptural sub-tale, this paradigm for approaching and interpreting allusions may actually point toward a credible procedure for unearthing them. This may be best explained with the aid of a series of logical syllogisms where the given premise (A), if true, leads to the conclusion (B), all of which will produce a dynamic interpretive principle for this study:

109 See examples in Moyise 1995, 102.

110 See Crawford 2008, 53.

111 See, e.g., Vermes 2010, 137; Brooke 2000, 71; Segal 2000, 395; Crawford 2008, 127.

- (i) A. If it is assumed that the FE underpinned his Gospel with a retelling of the story of Israel,
 B. then there will be structural markers (indicatory allusions) of this retelling embedded within the text.
- (ii) A. If there are structural markers of this nature within the text,
 B. then, from the perspective of the narrative framework, these markers may be considered **primary**.
- (iii) A. If there are other allusive elements within the FG not directly integral to this framework,
 B. then, again from the perspective of the narrative framework, these others may be considered **secondary**.
- (iv) A. Thus, if I can distinguish between primary and secondary references within the FG regarding a potential narrative underpinning,
 B. then I can also posit that any single multi-referencing icon may be constituted of a structural marker (primary allusion) *and* a fusion of analogously related referents (secondary allusions).

So, to return to the image in John 1:29, instead of approaching this image as necessarily and only referring to either Genesis 22 or Exodus 12 or Leviticus 16 and the like, it may be reasonably posited that this multi-referencing image is exactly what it appears to be. Namely, it is a multi-referencing image, a dynamic and in some ways maximizing theological fusion intended as much to ignite the imagination unto a transformed vision of scripture, seeing relationships where they may not yet have been seen, as to suggest how they collectively witness to and find fulfillment in Jesus. Barrett seemed to discern the possibility of this kind of complex usage of scripture in the FG when he concluded of 1:29 that:

No single one, however, and probably not any two of the O.T. passages can be regarded as in itself an adequate source of the Johannine description of Christ. John is unquestionably using the O.T., but . . . his use is very far from the simple 'proof-text' method of, say, Matthew.¹¹²

¹¹² Barrett 1947, 156. Werner Kelber suggests that this same kind of maximizing multi-referentiality is basic to (whom he takes to be) the FE's use of symbols in the Apocalypse: the author 'employs symbols as tensive figures evoking a wide range of meanings that cannot be exhausted in any one apprehension of meaning' (Kelber 2004, 148). Figures and words 'are often plurisignificant, evoking multiple floating and interactive representations' (152). In this way, the Apocalypse, 'appeals to hearers/readers . . . as participants' in the drama being relayed (148).

One qualification we might want to make in the course of tracing a scriptural tale is between primary and secondary references. The viability of posited primary references will naturally depend on our ability to show the plausibility of analogical association between the particular referent in question (e.g., as Isaac's lamb), the presence of other allusive elements and signals within the immediate context which support the primary identification, and other exegetical factors.¹¹³

Whatever we conclude about this particular text, the enduring point is that an awareness of the techniques manifested in Jewish 'retelling' and Graeco-Roman 'mimetic' literature have much to offer this study. Most basically, they expose a considerable range of creative freedom and sophistication in the work of ancient authors in the ways former texts are adapted and re-presented in newer texts, to the effect that we must not presume in advance to know how an author like the FE might undertake to rewrite a base text. His use of sources (if he was indeed using them) could be obvious and explicit or more nudging and teasing. Evocations of subtexts could be manifested in his text in a straightforward and explicit manner, or in ways that are far more complex and synthetically interwoven. As Brooke has once again challenged, although most attention in NT scholarship is

paid to particular kinds of proof-texting, . . . the publication of the whole range of compositions found at Qumran, with their overwhelming dependence on textual precursors, should encourage NT scholars to consider afresh the kinds of treatment of the Scriptures authors of the NT were capable of.¹¹⁴

1.5 Conclusion

As asserted at the beginning of this chapter, and as I will demonstrate in the following chapters, an attempt to establish a scriptural tale in the FG must take into account the possibility of, and be broadened by an appreciation for, oral poetic influences. Similarly, it is clear from the present chapter that literary factors and the possible use of texts must be duly recognized and appreciated. The reality is that the FG betrays a fine literary artistry—not least in its multifarious and careful uses of scripture. Many of these uses of scripture give us reason to wonder whether the FE may have patterned his story of Jesus after

¹¹³ See further Chapter 3 below.

¹¹⁴ Brooke 2000, 72.

a retelling of the story of Israel for ideological purposes. Precedent for 'rewriting' or creative imitation of earlier sources is apparent in literate communities like those at Qumran and within Graeco-Roman civilization. This suggests (at least on a theoretical level) that the FE—provided he had access to Genesis–Kings, and provided it was indeed thought of as telling a coherent story—could have used these texts (as Sahlin assumed) in a retelling of the story of Israel in his Gospel.

Nonetheless, it must be asked: what evidence do we actually have that the FE had access to these texts? Perhaps even more importantly, what evidence do we have that the FE's potential audiences would have known Israel's story from *these texts*, or indeed, that they would have known of such a story at all and thus been able to benefit from the FE's retelling of it? As will be seen, although it is often assumed that the earliest Jesus followers would have been drenched in firsthand knowledge and experience of a vast spectrum of Israel's scriptures and thus capable of hearing scriptural sub-tales and frameworks that were written by NT writers via intimate literary participations with scriptural texts, critical questions remain to be asked. In fact, certain media realities drive us to ask some of the most foundational questions of all.

A Story Heard? Sources of Narrative Knowledge in the Johannine Community

I should be much surprised if I forgot any of these things which I have heard very long ago. I listened at the time with childlike interest to the old man's narrative; he was very ready to teach me, and I asked him again and again to repeat his words, so that like an indelible picture they were branded into my mind.¹

...

The past... provides the framework for cognition, organization, and interpretation of the experiences of the present... Master commemorative narratives... are cognitive schemata, "nuclear scripts" for interpreting and processing streams of experience.²

••

2.1 Introduction

As outlined at the beginning of the last chapter, the claim of this study is that the FG tells a scriptural tale. At the most basic level, this tale is manifested in the FG in a sequence of moves that reflect the overarching sequence of moves described and projected in what is commonly called the 'Primary History', or 'Genesis through Kings' (Gen–Kings). In addition to pointing to intimations of this tale in literary features found within the FG, precedent for such a potential use of scripture was found in that category (or genre) of writing dubbed Rewritten Bible texts. The fundamental purpose of Rewritten Bible texts, I noted, was ideological; the fundamental *modus operandi* of Rewritten Bible scribes was to rewrite base texts.³ Naturally, this rewriting of base texts

¹ Plato, *Dialogues*, §26.

² Alan Kirk 2005a, 15.

³ For more on this point, see the introduction in Crawford 2008.

assumes that rewriting scribes either had direct access to the texts they were rewriting or superb memory from previous engagement. Given the numerous biblical scrolls found at Qumran, this would appear to be a fair assumption about the authors of Rewritten Bible texts *at Qumran*. Furthermore, as works minted for ideological purposes, the assumption of Rewritten Bible scribes appears to have been of 'biblically literate' audiences capable of comprehending the significance of changes made to base texts. Again, for the community at Qumran, this would appear to make good sense.⁴

However, as indicated at the end of the last chapter, whether assuming the presence of texts and a 'biblically literate' audience makes good sense when approaching the FG and Johannine audience is open to doubt. This is doubly true when it comes to an alleged 'story of Israel' ostensibly recognized by the FE and his audience to be captured in, and/or reflective of, the books 'spanning' 'Gen–Kings'. At least three complicating issues come into play to challenge the notion that the FE would have been able and/or inclined to write, and his audience would have been able to hear, such a comprehensively text-based scriptural tale operating in the FG.

First, although there is majority agreement among scholars that the *individual books* spanning Gen–Kings were recognized within most Jewish circles as authoritative for Israel's faith and practice by no later than 200 BCE, it is not as clear that these same books were conceptualized and, in some sense, read as a collection or continuous narrative within the Second Temple period.⁵

4 'The Dead Sea sectarians, according to the *Rule of the Community*, devoted one-third of each night to studying the Torah[,] [though] we have little specific information about what this study entailed' (Schiffman 1999, 274).

5 *Authoritative*, not *canonized*. This is a much-discussed distinction that centers on the level at which the text was fixed and whether a closed list of authoritative books was in any sense standardized. That Gen–Kings were all deemed duly authoritative and *on the way* to canonization, however, is nowhere seriously disputed. As Dunbar notes, although 'there is no such historical evidence for the biblical books "acquiring" a scriptural status, 'the earliest references to biblical books or portions of them treat them as authoritative' (Dunbar 1986, 314). This is attested in a general way in texts like Ezra 9–10; Neh 8–9; 1 Macc 1:54–57; 2 Macc 2:13–15; and *Let. Aris.* §308–311. An abundance of Qumran documents, while offering no certified listing of authoritative books, also show engagement with each of the historical books of Gen–Kings, once again vouching their authority (see Vermes 2010, 102. See also the discussions in Ulrich 2003, 65–72; Evans 2002). For a primer on the status of Gen–Kings and other scriptures in general and how these discussions have developed over the last four decades, see the discussions in Beckwith 1985; Stone 1985; Dunbar 1986; Sanders 1987, 20; D. C. Kraemer 1991, 613–14; Barton 1996a; DeClaissé-Walford 1998; Waltke 2001a; Ulrich 2001; Evans 2001; Lewis 2002; Ulrich 2002; Sundberg Jr. 2002; VanderKam 2002a; VanderKam 2002b; Geoghegan 2003; van der Kooij 2003; van der Kooij 2003, 28; Ulrich 2003, 58–9; Freedman

The main issue in view is that there is simply no *direct* evidence for this notion. Contemporary designations like the ‘Enneauteuch’, ‘Primary History’, and even as I have been saying Genesis *through* Kings are anachronistic: no tidy nomenclature exists within the extant Second Temple literature. Orderly lists of books are also absent. Theoretical discussions of an authoritative ‘narrative’ or ‘story’ of Israel are likewise absent. Neither is there any concrete evidence for performances of the books of Gen–Kings in public arenas, as some have tried to argue with reference to later lectionary cycles.⁶ In fact, we know precious little about any of what was read or recited in synagogues in the first century.⁷ It may be assumed, in view of the FE’s sophisticated and sweeping uses of scripture as shown in the last chapter, that at least he thought of and had read Gen–Kings as a coherent story; but even the FE’s ‘canonic’ facility with figures from scripture does nothing to prove that he had immediate access to Gen–Kings and was accustomed to reading these books in linear fashion as a story. Nothing in his Gospel enables us to draw this particular conclusion.⁸

and Kelly 2004; Evans 2004, 3; Horsley 2004, 117; Nelson 2005; Jaffee 2005, 11, 64; Brettler 2007, 273–8; and Frolov 2009. In terms of the ‘texts’ of scriptural books, it is clear that although the variants are usually minor, ‘one finds the “text of the Bible” everywhere and nowhere. I say “everywhere,” because all manuscripts, from the ancient Qumran scrolls to the medieval Masoretic manuscripts, attest to it. I say “nowhere,” because we cannot call a single source, extant or reconstructed, “the text of the Bible”’ (Tov 2002, 251). Also see Lust 2003; Horsley 2004, 108–9; Horsley 2006a, 169; and Vermes 2010, 103–4.

6 E.g., cf., again Guilding 1960 and Morris 1964.

7 Records of what was *specifically* done are sparse. As Cohen has said: ‘The cycle of readings in first-century Palestine (if indeed there was a cycle) is unknown to us’ (Cohen 1987, 73). Also see the comments in Goldstein 1995, 109.

8 To be sure, even if it could be proven that the FE populated his work with language and imagery from every book within the Primary History, this would neither prove the presence of *whole* texts (as opposed to a good memory of particulars) nor his conceiving of these texts as a unified *narrative* (as opposed to perceiving them merely as authoritative independent scrolls). Thus, while it is tempting to simply assert that the FE—who was so clearly concerned with scripture—would not have been ignorant of the narrative (Gen–Kings) that some of his contemporaries (e.g., Philo, Josephus) appear not to have been ignorant of (see n. 11 below), the conclusion cannot be made on this basis. The FE’s steady references to the ‘scripture’ (γραφή), ‘law’ (νόμος), ‘prophets’ (προφήτης), and ‘what has been written’ (γεγραμμένον) do not prove much either (cf. 2:22; 5:39; 7:38, 42; 10:35; 13:18; 17:12; 19:24, 28, 36f; 20:9 // 1:23, 45; 6:45; 12:38 // 1:45; 2:17; 5:46; 6:31, 45; 8:17; 10:34; 12:14, 16; 15:25), except perhaps the monumental function of these scriptures for the community (see comments on p. 30 below). Thus, although Maarten Menken’s study of the FE’s quotations leads him to conclude that ‘it is evident that the LXX is the Bible of the FE . . . he was rooted, with all the singularity he may have possessed, in an early Christian tradition of reading and interpreting the OT’ (Menken 1996, 205, 212), it cannot be asserted without remainder that the FE read the whole of Gen–Kings as a coherent narrative, or that he *read* them at all.

In light of all this, although coherent readings of Gen–Kings are frequently assumed by modern scholars,⁹ it must be acknowledged that the idea of reading the individual books of Gen–Kings in continuity as a coherent narrative *may be* a projection of later ‘codex’ and print culture sensibilities, wherein linear readings of successive books are promoted by the material form in which these books are encountered. Earlier writing conventions, which saw individual books contained on materially separate—not to mention exceedingly heavy and cumbersome—scrolls, may have produced very different reading strategies and conceptualities.¹⁰ We cannot simply assume, therefore, that the individual books of Gen–Kings were thought of as a coherent narrative unit by the FE and/or his audience in the first century CE, despite these books’ unquestionable authoritative status.

Even while granting this first point, it would be an error to treat this issue as the critical task of primary importance in this chapter. This is true in a preliminary sense because, although it cannot and should not be assumed without qualification, examination of the relevant literature demonstrates that, in all probability, the individual scrolls of Gen–Kings were indeed both written as a

9 See, for example, the lack of discussion of this question in Berlin 1983, 13; Brodie 2000 and 2008; Kennedy 2008; Hood 2009; and Wright 1992, 1:216, where Wright simply avers that, ‘The foundation story of Judaism, to which all other stories were subsidiary, was *of course* the story in the Bible. Israel had told this story, one way or another, pretty much as long as she had been Israel’ (1992, 1:216). He then moves linearly from Genesis to the end of Kings, retelling the story in his own words, and then concludes: ‘The biblical period (normally so-called) runs out without a sense of an ending, except as projected into the future. . . . The great story of the Hebrew Scriptures was therefore inevitably read in the second-temple period as a story in search of an ending’ (216, 217). Similar assertions, based on the received authority of the scriptures rather than on tangible evidence for a sequential reading of Gen–Kings, are made by Barton. Of the ‘unity’ of the ‘books of Moses’, he states, ‘there is no doubt that they were so read in the Second Temple period’, and then adds, ‘The same was true of the ‘Former Prophets’ (Joshua–Kings)’ (Barton 1996a, 74). A notable exception to this tendency to assert rather than demonstrate from hard data may be seen in Watson 2004. Unfortunately, however, his study is limited to the Pentateuch and as specifically read by Paul.

10 As stressed by Jaffee: ‘An important impediment to the simple perusal of a book’s contents was the form of the book itself. The codex—with its conveniently leafable pages bound into a pamphlet at the spine—would not revolutionize literary culture and information retrieval in the Roman Empire until well into the second century CE. For Palestinian Jews of the Second Temple period, as for anyone else of the time, books were preserved on sheets of papyrus or treated leather bound end to end into scrolls of varying length. Long books made for long, heavy scrolls’ (Jaffee 2001, 16). Many have stressed this same point, as, e.g., Barton 1996a, 79–80; Ulrich 2001, 54–5; Kraft 2002, 233.

coherent story and read this way in the first century. Ample arguments have been adduced, and could further be marshaled, to support this conclusion.¹¹

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- 11 In brief, as a survey of the relevant literature shows, this is true because: (a) It is almost universally agreed that, notwithstanding certain textual variations, versions, and translations, the individual books of Gen–Kings reached the basic form in which we now have them long before the first century CE (cf. Horsley 2004, 122; Waltke 2001; Blenkinsopp 2002, 66–67; Barrera 2002; Barton 1996a, 68–9; Beckwith 1985, 20). (b) These books representing Gen–Kings are widely believed by scholars to be comprised of two historically self-contained units or ‘blocks’ of literature, ascribed to two parallel redacting traditions—namely, the Pentateuchal (‘p-narrative’) and Deuteronomistic (Dtr) (see Freedman 1975; Stone 1985, 224; Barton 1996a, 74, 80–81; Clines 1997; Otto 2003, 491; Provan, Long, and Longman 2003, 195–6; McCarthy 1965; though cf. Noll 2007, 344.). However, apparently because these two blocks of literature have been so thoroughly interwoven with each other (as the ‘janus’ book of Deuteronomy appears to demonstrate in no uncertain terms [Work 2009, 17]), there is very little agreement among scholars where the redactional traditions start and stop (see Römer and de Pury 2000, 82–88). This has led several scholars to posit that at some point in the exilic or early post-exilic period some author-redactor attempted to weave Pentateuchal and Dtr traditions together in into an ‘all-embracing literary complex’ (Noth 1987, 143), or ‘Great Dtr History’ (Römer and de Pury 2000, 101), or ‘Primary History’ (Freedman 1994, 6). (c) The notion that the Pentateuchal and Dtr histories were carefully interwoven at some point in history is reinforced by a vast array of literary considerations, including: core thematic overlaps (cf. how Clines 1997 and Noth 1981 conclusions pertain to their alternate tradition); conspicuously similar structural sophistication in the placement of key speeches from key figures at *all* critical junctures in the narrative (see Gen 49; Exod 15; Num 23–24; Deut 32–33; Josh 1, 23, 1Sa 12, 1Ki 8; cf. Sailhamer 2000 and Noth 1981, 6); the narration of distinctive stories in each book of Exodus through Kings that show the successive breaking of one of the ten commandments in each successive book until all ten commandments have been systematically broken (see Freedman 1994; also cf. Freedman 1975; 1987; 1989; 1990); and the ability to read Gen–Kings as a coherent and well plotted story from a variety of different narrative perspectives (see Gage 1984; Barton 1995, 14–15; Barton 1996a, 81; Freedman 1989 and 1994; Brodie 2000; Sailhamer 2000; Ulrich 2003, 55–6; Freedman and Kelly 2004; Dorsey 2004; Frye 1982, 170–1; R. Middleton 2006; Wright 1992, 1:217). (d) Although the Qumran community does not appear to ‘rewrite’ the history of Israel using all the books spanning Gen–Kings, some works outside the Qumran community do appear to have done so, including Chronicles, *L.A.B.*, and Josephus (see comments and/or studies of Noth 1987, 51; Barton 1996b, 2:78; Chapman 2000, 230; Brettler 1995; Feldman 1998a and 1998b; Evans 2005, 49; Fisk 2001). (e) Early descriptions and/or nomenclature used to designate blocks of scripture (e.g. *Ag. Ap.* 1.38–40; Sir 49:1–9; 4QMMT 6ab–28b and C 9–12; *Contempl.* 3.25–28; *Mos.* 2.37–40; 4 *Ezra* 1:39–40; b. B. Bat. 14b–15a; John 1:45; Luke 24:44;) collectively show a tendency to group all of the prophets and writers after Moses *except* Josh–Kings together into distinct and meaningful blocks (e.g. the ‘Twelve’, Psalms), suggesting that Deuteronomic traditions would have been grouped on the basis of similitude with the

The more fundamental reason for not treating this question as a matter of first importance, however, is because of a far more pressing question: namely, even if Gen–Kings was written as a coherent narrative and was read this way in the first century, how likely is it that those in the Johannine community would have heard it or read it for themselves?

Second, in point of fact, even if it could be shown definitively that Gen–Kings was written and conceptualized as an authoritative story, the likely make-up of the Johannine community casts doubt on the notion that all would have heard or read and thus known this story. It is frequently assumed that because the FG deals with an abundance of Jewish themes, is steeped in Jewish language, addresses almost all Jewish characters, and is saturated in Jewish scriptures that the FE was therefore all but certainly written to address Jews,¹² or at least an obviously ‘biblically literate’ audience.¹³ One must be careful, however, as Christopher Stanley has cautioned, to jump too quickly from indications about an implied audience to drawing conclusions about a real audience. What is written on the page is not necessarily a mirror into what is going on in the community. It may be the case, as Stanley argues with reference to Paul, that the FE’s use of Jewish language is a reflection of his own engagement with Jewish tradition. It may also be the case that the author used scripture not because he thought all his audience members would have known the texts he cites but because quoting scripture, as quoting any authoritative texts in the first century, would have had a powerful rhetorical effect.¹⁴

Alongside this consideration, Craig Koester has convincingly demonstrated from factors both within and outside the FG that, even though perhaps predominantly or centrally Jewish, the FE’s original audience was most likely comprised of a spectrum of readers.¹⁵ Koester points to the parenthetical asides within the FG that translate or identify fairly basic Jewish words and events,¹⁶ doubtlessly added for the benefit of a non-Jewish audience. Koester also deduces from the FG’s unique concern for Greeks¹⁷ and Samaritans,¹⁸ as well

narrative books of the Torah. See further discussion of the texts listed under (e) in Ulrich 2003, 56–7; Evans 2001; Barrera 2002; Chapman 2000; Dunbar 1986, 311; Watson 2004, 81–8; Blenkinsopp 2002.

12 Boomershine 2011.

13 Carson 1988.

14 Stanley 1999 and 2004.

15 Koester 1995, 18–24.

16 John 1:38, 41, 42; 2:6, 13; 5:2; 6:1, 4; 7:2.

17 7:35; 12:20; 19:20.

18 4:4, 7, 9, 22, 39–40.

as evidence of the early church's missionary activity to the same,¹⁹ that these two groups were likely present within the Johannine community.²⁰ Certainly, if the FE's community included Gentile Christians, it is doubtful that they would have had much previous experience with the Jewish scriptures (unless they were also longstanding converts to Judaism). It is even more doubtful that they would have had any kind of experience with these scriptures, as Koester puts it, as *readers*.²¹

Third, a growing wealth of research demonstrates that, unless the Johannine community was very unique and substantially different from its surrounding culture, it is doubtful that any but perhaps a select few among the community would have read Israel's scriptures at all—let alone all nine to eleven scrolls that would have constituted Gen–Kings. It is becoming increasingly clear in studies of the Second Temple era that scrolls were both costly²² and rare.²³ Literacy was also low: perhaps only five to ten per cent of adults could read.²⁴

19 Cf. Acts 9:36; 11:20; 14:1; 16:1, 3; 17:4, 12, 17; 18:4.

20 Koester 1995, 18–19. Additionally, the FE's apparent familiarity with Graeco-Roman literary and rhetorical device; his polyvalent or 'plurisignifying' use of symbols that would have found resonance in Jewish, Samaritan, and Greek ears; and the FG's compositional history which bears marks of being 'developed over a period of time'; all point in the direction, as Koester puts it, to 'a spectrum of Johannine readers'.

21 Koester 1995, 19.

22 The books burned in Acts 19:19, for example, were worth 'fifty-thousand pieces of silver...[equaling] fifty thousand day's pay for a day laborer' (Witherington 1998, 582). The extraordinary expense of written works persisted well into the Middle Ages. As Kelber reports: 'By later typographical standards, writing one letter after the next, and word after word, was exceedingly tedious and slow work, and the time spent on completing a manuscript of average length was inordinate. For this reason also handwritten books were expensive and treasured objects: "In 1331 King Edward III paid the equivalent of 80 oxen for an illuminated volume; in 1057 Diemude of Wessobrunn (a nun) traded a Bible she penned for a farm; in the eleventh or twelfth century a book was traded for a vineyard; in the ninth century, a book was traded for enough land for eight families"' (Kelber 2001).

23 See Jaffee 2001, 16: 'Large collections of books were not found in private homes, and there is only slender literary evidence (and virtually no uncontroversial physical evidence) of institutionalized libraries accessible to a broad public of readers. Rather, collections of literature may have been read in connection with ideologically self-conscious religious or cultic communities, such as the ruling priestly groups associated with the Jerusalem Temple or dissident communities of the kind that stood behind at least some of the Dead Sea Scrolls'. So also Horsley 2005, 70–1.

24 See Thatcher 1998, 127; Hezser 2001; P. R. Davies 2002, 38; Gamble 2000. To call 10% low, of course, is a relative assessment. Compared to other cultures in antiquity, Jewish literacy—especially from the angle of those producing literature—might be considered high (as noted in Jaffee 2001, 15–16). Meir Bar-Ilan calculates that when both rural and

Thus, in addition to being inaccessible to most, especially in their entirety, it can be envisaged that—again, assuming the FE’s audience was constituted of a culturally representative group—approximately ninety to ninety-five per cent of John’s audience would have been unable to read the scrolls even if they did have access to them. There is also the issue of time. A very fast reader might read approximately two hundred Greek words per minute. The Septuagint’s text of Genesis has about thirty-four thousand words. A reader of Genesis alone would require about three hours of reading time. Reading all of Gen–Kings would require some thirty hours. These estimations, of course, do not include the time it would take the reader to continually readjust the heavy scroll.²⁵ Neither does this take into account the (likely) migraine-inducing burden of needing to decipher the uncial script encased in *textus continua* form.²⁶ In short, even if there were a good deal of literates in the FE’s day, and an uncommon concentration of them in the Johannine community, only a

urban, as well other gender and ethnographic, variables are considered, Jewish literacy might have been as low as three per cent of the Jewish population. He adds that ‘this percentage might be raised artificially. If we ignore women (on the ground of their not participating in society), take into consideration children above the age of seven only, forget the far-away farmers and regard literacy of the non-educated people (e.g., one who cannot read the Torah but reads a bulla, that is: pragmatic literacy), then the literacy rate (adult males in the centers), might be even 20%, a high rate in traditional society’ (Bar-Ilan 1992, 61 n. 29). Whether three or twenty per cent, the Jewish rates are considerably higher than in ancient Egypt, which Bar-Ilan estimates amounted to only one half of one per cent literacy rate despite a considerably large scribal class. Compared to modern day first-world standards, however, all these numbers are very low. As Kelber nuances, although it is certainly true that early Christians ‘lived in a world that was no stranger to literacy’, literacy within the context of the whole situation is to be viewed as low (Kelber 1997, 17). Once again, both William Harris and Catherine Hezser conclude in their comprehensive studies on literacy rates in the ancient world (Harris 1989) and Roman Palestine (Hezser 2001) that only about three to five percent would have had the *sort* of literacy that would enable them to read books. As Hezser qualifies, ‘The question naturally depends on what one understands by “literacy”. If “literacy” is determined as the ability to read documents, letters, and “simple” literary texts in at least one language and to write more than one’s signature itself, it is quite reasonable to assume that the Jewish literacy rate was well below the 10–15 percent (of the entire population, including women) which Harris has estimated for Roman society in imperial times. If by “literacy” we mean the ability to read a few words and sentences and to write one’s own signature only, Jews probably came closer to the Roman average rate’ (Hezser 2001, 498).

25 ‘The cumbersome papyrus rolls of antiquity probably made people reluctant to look up a passage; they preferred to quote from memory’ (O. Anderson 1991, 44).

26 See Achtemeier 1990; Hearon 2006, 4; Witherington 2010.

minority of them would have been granted the lengthy time to peruse the few and costly copies of scriptural texts available to them. This privilege was likely reserved for the elite: temple officials, synagogue rulers, appointed scribes.²⁷

Quite obviously, then, if it is to be argued that the FE used the story of Israel in a way that would have been not only compositionally useful to himself but rhetorically and ideologically meaningful to his likely audiences, the primary critical issue that must be addressed in this chapter concerns whether and to what degree it may be affirmed that at least some of the FE's audience(s) would have been exposed to tellings and/or retellings of this story—or at least re-presentations of this story—via means other than personal reading and study. Put more fully: if the aggregate of the FE's audience(s) neither had access to nor the ability to read the scrolls of Gen–Kings, and in view of a lack of concrete evidence that these scrolls were publically read from start to finish, how can we be sure that at least some of them would have had a coherent idea of the story these scrolls told? Is there sufficient reason, in other words, to believe that the average person—whether observant Jew, God-fearing Gentile, or nascent Christian—would have had a fairly clear mental image of (at least) the sequence of main events (i.e., the schema) contained in the Primary History?²⁸ As with questions about Gen–Kings itself, this foundational knowledge is usually assumed within biblical studies, and perhaps for good reason. But it nevertheless remains an issue that requires critical scrutiny.

27 The privilege of the few to access written works in largely illiterate contexts is widely recognized, as is the power-structure inherent in this situation. As Davies expresses, 'In an ancient agrarian society [where] 95 percent (or more) of the population cannot read, though they can hear[,] writing down *restricts communication to the privileged class*. Writing is power, and no cultural analysis of writing, and thus of canonizing and canons, must pretend otherwise' (P. R. Davies 2002, 38). Recent research has only underscored this reality. As Horsley explains: 'More recent analysis of evidence for orality and literacy in antiquity has made it unavoidably clear that literacy was limited mainly to the social-cultural elite. Literacy was even more limited among the Jews, especially in Palestine. Extensive recent surveys of evidence for literacy in ancient Judea and Galilee conclude that writing, whether in Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek, was confined to a tiny elite and used, in limited ways, to secure and enhance the power of dominant families' (Horsley 2006b, ix–x). Also see the comments in O. Anderson 1991, 45; Jaffee 2001, 20–23; Hearon 2006, 18. For the view that scriptural texts were considerably more available than the sketch drawn here, see Brodie 2004, 63–71.

28 As Douglas Estes said to me in personal correspondence, this is a very real and pressing question. After all, 'the average person who goes to church today with a bound bible often doesn't have a clear mental image of this'.

2.2 A Story Heard: Evidence for the Telling and Retelling of Israel's Scriptural Narrative

The proposition that the FE and most of his audience would indeed have had (or been enabled to gain) a fairly clear idea of the story of Israel, regardless of possible access to, or ability to read, scriptural texts, may be defended both on theoretical and historical grounds.

2.2.1 *Theoretical Considerations*

It seems possible to argue on the basis of social memory theories, cognitive science and related fields of inquiry that communities are founded and maintained by their collective memory. Moreover, orally/aurally²⁹ dependent communities of memory will almost certainly be dependent on the telling and retelling of what have become 'master commemorative narratives' for the formation and ongoing re-formation of group identity. This activity will also likely be intensified during times of crisis or change. I may articulate this argument as follows.

When a community is founded, fundamental questions about that community's identity, origins, and *raison d'être* must be answered.³⁰ These answers must then be transmitted from generation to generation if the community is to survive. Such transmission nourishes the community through time. As Alan Kirk explains:

For its part, a community bears a complex of memories constitutive of its very existence. Accordingly, "genuine communities are communities of memory that constantly tell and retell their constitutive memories". Individuals come to participate in these memories by virtue of their incorporation into the group, a process Eviatar Zerubavel describes as the "existential fusion of our own personal biography with the history of the groups or communities to which we belong". Indeed, "familiarizing new members with its past is an important part of a community's effort to incorporate them".³¹

Naturally, regardless of where or how many written texts may exist, if a given community is to survive in a largely illiterate context, collective memory must

29 Although I will assume an oral/aural meaning in what follows, I will for simplicity write oral or aural, not oral/aural.

30 See Halbwachs 1992, 87–88; Walsh and Middleton 2009; Sanders 1987, 17.

31 Kirk 2005a, 4.

be transmitted through oral performance and aural reception; someone must speak, others must listen.

This speaking and listening can, of course, be conducted in concert with written texts.³² Written texts would have served a powerfully symbolic and authorizing function, especially in settings where texts were rare, costly, and few could read them. 'Whatever is written, and more generally whatever is inscribed, demonstrates, by the fact of being inscribed, a will to be remembered'.³³ Additionally:

for most people, and for most of the time, a book was a commodity that one "heard" through the medium of another human voice; "reading" was the activity of declaiming a text before an audience in a social performance approaching the gravity of ceremonial ritual. The book was a locus of power and authority far more than information. It was precisely its power that made the information worth attending to.³⁴

Notwithstanding the power of written texts, to fulfill their function for the remembering community, orally communicated memories must also be memorable. Repetition might be good, but it will not be enough. It is the hearing ear, and not the reading eye, to which appeal must be made. As Eric Havelock determined with reference to early Hellenism:

The conditions under which language exists and functions in preliteracy are strictly acoustic: it is the ear, not the eye, which universally confers acquaintance with linguistic information of any kind; it is the ear which is required to assist in storing it. If early Hellenism was preliterate, it must have employed methods of storage which met these conditions.³⁵

32 As Anderson explains, 'Orality and literacy are alternative modes of communication. But the latter never *supplants* the former, it only *supplements* it. In a certain sense, however, it may be said that literacy *superimposes* itself upon orality. It places orality within a new cultural totality' (O. Anderson 1991, 44). See also Kelber 1997, 14; 2004, 140–1.

33 Connerton 10, quoted in Kirk 2005, 9.

34 Jaffee 2001, 17–18. See also Thatcher 1998, 133; Jaffee 2001, 16–17; Horsley 2004, 114; Thatcher 2005, esp. 79–93; Assmann 2006, 73. For a superb modern day example of such use of monumental texts or, in this case, symbolic 'literature' and 'reading' in the course of oral performance, see the example of the Tibetan paper-singer, Grags-pa seng-ge, in Foley 2002, 1–3.

35 Havelock 1978, 12. On the inadequacies of mere repetition for memory, see Connerton 1989, 27.

Thus, orally dependent communities will also be mnemonically dependent communities. As Jan Assmann explains, utterances in such environments will have ‘to be submitted to a process of secondary formalization’ because ‘[o]nly by acquiring certain additional distinctive features of form and genre is an utterance capable of staying in memory and remaining accessible to later recourse, repetition, elaboration, and commentary’.³⁶ According to Havelock, shorter units of information—like communal laws—are accommodated to social memory via aphoristic, rhythmic and poetic structures.³⁷ Longer units of information—comprised of information like a group’s prehistory, founding moment(s), and pivotal historical personages and events, i.e. what Social Memory theorists have coined a community’s ‘salient past’³⁸—are made memorable (among other bodily, iconic, and ritual practices³⁹) by way of narrative.

Narrative, of course, is simply a fact of antiquity: ancient societies told stories, and ancient societies retold stories. As Connerton avers, ‘The production of more or less informally told narrative histories turns out to be a basic activity for characterization of human actions. It is a feature of all communal memory’.⁴⁰ Certainly, the evidence for this seems beyond doubt. Whether of Egyptian, Hittite, West Semitic, Akkadian, Sumerian, or Graeco-Roman origin, foundational stories were told and retold.⁴¹ The fundamental rationale not only for the telling but for the ongoing retelling of these stories is also clear: ‘In a culture dependent on speaking, the repetition of stories is not only desirable but necessary: “knowledge not repeated enough vanishes”’.⁴²

36 Assmann 2006, 72.

37 As Assmann also affirms: ‘Rhyme, assonance, parallelism, alliteration, meter, rhythm, and melody are devices of stabilization meant to render permanent the volatile words in the flow of time’ (Assmann 2006, 72).

38 ‘By “salient past” is meant the past as it has been marked by a community through the hermeneutical operations of commemoration’ (Kirk 2005a, 15).

39 See Havelock 1978, 43–44.

40 Connerton 1989, 16–17. See also the discussion in Aune 1991.

41 On the prevalence of storytelling in the wider ANE, see the entries in Hallo and Younger 1997, and the discussion in Walton 2007. With reference to the ANE material, Assmann observes that, for these communities of memory, ‘the theme of myth was . . . the essence of reality. . . . Myths establish and enclose the area in which human actions and experiences can be oriented. The stories they tell about deities are supposed to bring to light the meaningful structure of reality. Myths are always set in the past, and they always refer to the present’ (from *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, 112, quoted in Walton 2007, 44).

42 Kelber 1997, 51. Dependent on the research of Walter Ong, Kelber expands on this notion in an earlier essay, saying: ‘The value of redundancy is axiomatic in ancient culture. Precisely what we literate people tend to shy away from, oral practitioners in antiquity and dominantly oral societies render as a great virtue. Repetition both on the synchronic

But why is narrative *qua* narrative so useful? Are there reasons, in other words, that might have made the narrative mode and its ongoing practice, in a sense, necessary or inevitable within these orally-dependent cultures? Three considerations do seem to point in this direction, and strengthen the notion that orally-dependent communities will be engaged in the telling and retelling of master commemorative narratives.

First, as Havelock judges, when it comes to longer units of information (like foundational events in a group's history), '[o]bviously, the extended length [of what was to be remembered] would make increasing demands upon brain energy'.⁴³ Narrative ameliorates these demands by converging with the inclinations of human memory on several fronts. Indeed, narrative seems intrinsically memorable, and has intrinsic staying power. This can be demonstrated via three sub-points:

(a) *Both narrative and human memory tend to be imagistic.* Narrative's stock and trade is to tell about various people and events in various times and places. Correspondingly, the human mind is much more likely to remember something if that something is, in the course of actual experience, attached to images in time and space, or if that something is, by the power of description and imagination, crystallized into a picture in the mind.⁴⁴ This helps to explain Havelock's conclusion that not just *some* types but in fact,

level and in diachronic contexts found its rationale in the physical circumstances surrounding speakers and audiences' (Kelber 1994, 150). Indeed, it is hard to imagine how an orally/aurally dependent community could get by *without* the ongoing re-articulation of foundational narrative schemes. N. T. Wright has argued for the indispensable function of narratives in articulating worldviews and in providing a context in which symbols and praxis can be understood (see Wright 1992, 1:121–24).

43 Havelock 1978, 30.

44 Havelock mentions a man who was studied extensively for his near eidetic memory: it was found that he was able to remember so impressively not least of all because he had trained himself to always associate whatever it was to be remembered with concrete images in time and place (Havelock 1978, 30). Connerton likewise determined that 'concrete items easily translated into images are much better retained than abstract items because such concrete items undergo a double encoding in terms of visual coding as well as verbal expression' (Connerton 1989, 27). Kirk discusses this phenomenon more broadly in terms of 'spatio-temporal' frameworks: 'Spatio-temporal frameworks are crucial, for it is not possible to remember apart from memories fastening to definite places and times... Time and locale act as economizing, organizing principles that condense and render into emblematic composites the memories associated with them... Memory attaches to places and landscapes, and likewise survives, with them' (Kirk 2005a, 2–3).

all types of information stored in the oral repertoire are thus likely to be cast in narrative form, to be represented as doings. To describe the geography of an island, you do not state its position relative to coordinates; you say, "If you sail two days toward the setting sun, you will come to a cliff facing you on which there stands a temple".⁴⁵

(b) *Both narrative and human memory are highly structured.* Narrative is a sequence of events, emplotted together by a variety of temporal, spatial, and causal connections.⁴⁶ Likewise, as cognitive scientists have demonstrated, the human mind is far more apt to remember data when that data is seen as part of a coherent and interrelated structure.⁴⁷ In addition to the human mind's tendency to encode information into structures, structures are, by definition as well as human perception, comprised of interlocking segments. The segmented nature of structures aids memory because, when the independent 'segments' of information that make up a structure are experienced within the coalescing stream of segments, each successive segment is associated to the one next to it; consequently, each segment becomes a mnemonic 'probe' for the others closest to them. Like a domino train, the remembrance of one segment naturally provokes remembrance of the next segment, and the next of the next, and so on.⁴⁸ Hence, in largely illiterate societies,

45 Havelock 1978, 43–4.

46 See Cobley 2001, 5–19.

47 See, e.g., Hogan 2003, 14–17; Solso 1996, 73–127.

48 Hogan 2003, 14–17. This reality is frequently experienced with musical tunes, whereby the person who hears 'Twinkle, Twinkle Little Star' and encodes a sense of its structure in long-term memory may be prompted to 'remember' the whole song by the signalling of just one of its segments—even, perhaps, just the first two notes. In the same way, one who has heard the story of 'Jack and the Beanstalk' may be prompted to recall the various sequences of events in this story, from Jack's shopping to the Giant's fall, at the mere mention of the planting of a magic bean. How well the two notes or one image will elicit remembrance of that song or story's whole script, of course, will be contingent on the frequency of repetition. A song or story heard more frequently, especially if complex, will be better remembered than one heard less frequently. This is due in part, as Hogan explains, to the reality that 'long term memory is not like a dictionary. It does not have a fixed formal principle of organization (such as alphabetization, where words beginning with "a" are on top and those beginning with "z" are on the bottom). Rather, memories are organized largely on the basis of their frequency of access. More commonly activated items are "on top" and thus easier to access. For example, it is in general easier to access the lexical entry for '*closet*' than for '*armoire*' because the former word is brought into working memory far more frequently for most people than the latter' (Hogan 2003, 13). Also see Glonek 2007.

‘[i]f memory alone allows words to survive, any kind of patterning facilitates retention and transmission.’⁴⁹ Consequently,

in oral cultures, most of the formal recollection of happenings take the form of performances repeatedly recited by the custodians of memory to those who hear of it. These large-scale performative utterances *have to be* cast in a standardized form if there is to be any chance of their being repeated by successive generations.⁵⁰

On the empirical level, Øivind Anderson has observed that the ‘standardized form’ adopted in oral environments is indeed narrational. In oral contexts, says Anderson, it is simply a fact that

thinking tends to be situational rather than categorical; concrete rather than abstract. . . . Insight into how things are, or instruction in how things are to be done, is conveyed through tales of how things *became* or how others did things, that is, by narrative of action and example, not by analysis.⁵¹

The likelihood that foundational narratives will not only be consistently told but retold, even—or, perhaps, especially—when dramatically new events are experienced, is related to this mnemonic inherent in structure. As Fentress and Wickham have highlighted, ‘events can be remembered more easily if they fit into the forms of narrative that the social group has at its disposal’.⁵² Zerubavel agrees: ‘Our tendency is to better remember facts that fit certain (unmistakably cultural) mental schemata’.⁵³ This is ‘quite evident’, he continues, ‘in the highly formulaic plot structures we use for narrating the past’.⁵⁴ Richard Horsley goes even further. He suggests that beyond being merely memorable, ‘new events *cannot help* being experienced according to those central or key stories and prominent patterns of a people’s memory’. This is true, he elaborates, because, ‘the memory of key events informs and shapes people’s experience of events that produce new memory’.⁵⁵

49 Kelber 1997, 51.

50 Connerton 1989, 76, emphasis mine.

51 O. Anderson 1991, 21.

52 Quoted in Horsley 2006a, 187.

53 Zerubavel 2003, 4.

54 Zerubavel 2003, 4.

55 Horsley 2006a, 188.

(c) *Both narrative and human memory are malleable under the right conditions.* In other words, narratives are intrinsically memorable because, as a fixed schema of events, where some events are/can be perceived and presented to be more interpretatively catalytic (kernels) than others (satellites), narratives can be altered and/or abridged. A story told at full length may be retold at half-length; a story told at half-length may be retold at quarter length; a story told at quarter length may be retold in a few pithy, epitomizing sentences. Thus, Caesar's war against Pharnaces II of Pontus, with all its potentially illustrious narrative 'satellites', can be reduced to a rehearsal of a few, exceedingly rarified, narrative 'kernels'. As has been captured in the memorable slogan, 'Veni, Vidi, Vici' (I came, I saw, I conquered). This attenuated summary of Caesar's war is akin, as Blake or Frye might call it, to the history of the universe being contained within a single grain of sand.⁵⁶ Such grains tend to be superbly memorable. In this way, whole narratives can be either memorized or provoked into remembrance by the memorization or evocation of just a few words.⁵⁷

Secondly, in addition to being intrinsically memorable, narratives will appeal to, and inevitably be retold by, aural communities due to their ideological and rhetorical usefulness.

On the ideological side, an orator wanting to make a point about how war poisons the heart of a leader, may modify Caesar's indelible 'I came, I saw, I conquered' to 'He came, He saw, He *was* conquered'. The audience may not afterwards agree with the orator's message, but it will certainly provoke intellectual and emotional participation. Similarly, an orator wanting immediately and powerfully to 'explain' or 'texture' the meaning of a new event to a traditional audience can do so most quickly, effectively, and powerfully, by 'keying' the new event to a symbol already invested with networks of inherent meaning.⁵⁸ No one has better exemplified the power of keying or alluding in this fashion in America in the last century than Martin Luther King Jr. As Dale Allison Jr. has observed: instead of explaining to his audiences that he had great hope in the struggle against the oppressive reality of racism in America, King

⁵⁶ Frye 1982, 167–8.

⁵⁷ I will return to this point with reference to John Miles Foley's concept of 'metonymic integers' in traditional societies in the next chapter.

⁵⁸ At its most basic level, 'keying' is described by social memory theorists as a pairing activity of mnemonic communities wherein 'an object (or an event, act, or emotion) is identified by placing it against the background of an appropriate symbol' (Geertz 1973:215, in Schwartz 2011, 250). Schwartz explains further: 'Keying [is] the practice of connecting object to symbol. Keying makes present scenes meaningful by articulating [or, better, *insinuating*] their relation to the past' (Schwartz 2011, 250).

exclaimed that ‘he had “been to the mountaintop” and had “seen the promised land.” He also stated prophetically, “I may not get there with you”’. His words were few, but generative of layers of meaning. As Allison notes, in choosing to key his situation to such iconic symbols, ‘King was characterizing himself as well as the circumstances of his audience’ according to Moses and Israel’s rescue from Egypt and imminent crossing of the Jordan. Without question, this made King’s speech ‘more memorable and more forceful’.⁵⁹

Stories imprinted in cultural memory are equally serviceable for rhetorical purposes. It may sound more mundane and may, for that reason, be seldom mentioned, but there are some very practical issues faced by speakers in oral contexts, especially when the content of what is to be shared, as with a community’s foundational narratives, is, for all practical purposes, always the same. Patrick Hogan, for example, points to the two equal and opposite problems that most frequently beset listeners in the oral environment.⁶⁰ What is listened to can be too simple or too complex; the performance can be too easy or too difficult to synthesize. Or, to put it in yet another way, what is heard can deliver too much sameness (lacking ‘novelty’) or not enough (lacking ‘familiarity’). The children’s Barney song ‘I Love You, You Love Me’ frequently elicits the former response, whereas overly complex orchestral pieces frequently elicit the second. Nonetheless, whether under-stimulated or over-stimulated, in both cases listeners are plagued with either boredom or irritation or both. What is required, if listeners’ ‘attentional focus’ (as Hogan calls it) is to be held, is balance. Difference within sameness; freedom within form; novelty within fixity. In other words, what is needed is awakening variation within schematic consistency. Narrative allows and even encourages this dynamism. The same is manifestly true, we might add, of the musical and visual arts. The reason why René Magritte’s *Not to be Reproduced* picture works well and captivates many, suggests Solso, is because it reproduces a common schema (a man in a suit standing in front of a mirror) and adds a striking visual dissonance (the man looking in the mirror is only able to see the back of his own head).⁶¹

59 Allison 2000, 1.

60 See Hogan 2003, 7–28.

61 Solso 1996, 116. Hogan illustrates this with the success of jazz music in general, and John Coltrane’s masterpiece ‘My Favorite Things’ in particular. Jazz works well, and Coltrane’s song supremely well, because familiar musical schemas (sequences of familiar musical patterns on the one hand, the basic melody of *Roger’s and Hammerstein’s* original on the other) are either created or taken and then repeated with radical, but not cognitively overwhelming, improvisations. The result is the attentional focus, and aesthetic pleasure, of the listeners.

Such disorientation within orientation is precisely what captures viewer's attention and makes the art memorable. Eco attributes the breathtaking success of Ian Fleming's *James Bond* stories to precisely this dynamic. Fleming is unwaveringly committed to rehearsing an identical script or scheme in all his novels, even while allowing for 'infinite variations of theme'. As Eco describes it, each one of Fleming's novels is

fixed as a *sequence of 'moves'*...constituted according to a perfectly arranged scheme.... The scheme is invariable in the sense that all the elements are always present in every novel (so that it might be affirmed that the fundamental rule of the game is "Bond moves and mates in eight moves"). That the moves always be in the same sequence is not imperative.... [For] occurring alongside the sequence of fundamental moves are numerous side issues [i.e. 'satellites'] which enrich the narrative by unforeseen events, without, however, altering the basic scheme.⁶²

Thirdly, besides being intrinsically memorable, and ideologically and rhetorically useful, there is also good reason to affirm that any community that recounts its salient past in a way that goes beyond mere chronicling will, necessarily, narrativize that past.⁶³ As historian Hayden White has argued, a history told is, tautologically, a history emplotted.⁶⁴ In a similar way, Connerton has insisted that the act of remembering is, by definition, the superimposition of narrative frameworks on past events: 'To remember... is precisely not to recall events as isolated; it is to become capable of forming meaningful narrative sequences'.⁶⁵ According to Kirk and Thatcher, 'social memory theorists generally hold that the meaning of landmark events is articulated through

62 Eco 1979, 156–7. For interest, the eight (although I count nine) fundamental moves that Eco discerns in all the novels are as follows: (1) M moves and gives a task to Bond; (2) Villain moves and appears to Bond (perhaps in vicarious forms); (3) Bond moves and gives a first check to Villain or Villain gives first check to Bond; (4) Woman moves and shows herself to Bond; (5) Bond takes Woman (possesses her or begins her seduction); (6) Villain captures Bond (with or without Woman, or at different moments); (7) Villain tortures Bond (with or without Woman); (8) Bond beats Villain (kills him, or kills his representative or helps at their killing); (9) Bond, convalescing, enjoys Woman, whom he then loses.

63 For the marked difference between chronicling and writing narrative, see the discussion in Lemon 2001, 108.

64 White 2001. Similar arguments are presented in Olafson 2001; Provan, Long, and Longman 2003, 69.

65 Connerton 1989, 26.

emplotment within narrative scripts that have achieved archetypal, symbolic status within a particular culture.’⁶⁶

Thus, given that narratives are intrinsically memorable, ideologically and rhetorically useful, and necessary for the construction of meaningful historical memories, we may infer that mnemonically dependent communities will tell and retell narratives about their salient past for the formation and ongoing re-formation of their respective communities.

The likelihood that communities of memory will also increasingly tell and retell these foundational narratives in times of substantial change or crisis is also quite clear; as may be put by way of a simple syllogism:

- (a) If it is true, as Kirk avers, that master commemorative narratives possess a constitutive significance for communities of memory,⁶⁷
- (b) then any new information or circumstances that either advocate for or threaten to change the present life and/or future of the community will almost certainly be addressed and/or redressed with reference to this constitutive material.

This is true, of course, because a failure to reference this constitutive material would be a failure to root or re-root the community in the bedrock upon which and from which collective identity has been, and continues to be, built.⁶⁸ This in turn would be a failure to prove legitimate *continuity* within the community and to thereby face instant delegitimization.⁶⁹ Indeed, it may even, as Luis

66 Kirk and Thatcher 2005, 37.

67 ‘Master commemorative narratives that have achieved secure status in the cultural memory are not museum-piece representations of the past . . . [but] vitally shape perception and organization of reality . . . They are cognitive schemata, “nuclear scripts” for interpreting and processing streams of experience’—and thus have *constitutive significance* (Kirk 2005a, 15). For similar arguments about the function of narratives, cf. Wright 1992, vol. 1, chap. 3; Connerton 1989, 6.

68 The very purpose of mnemonic acts are so that the ‘community is reminded of its identity as represented by and told in a master narrative’ (Connerton 1989, 70). See also Kirk: ‘Both identity and continuity, in fact the very survival of the community, depend on its constant revitalization of these memories’ (Kirk 2005a, 4–5). See also the discussion in Wright 1992, 1:38–40.

69 Not to mention radical dis-ease and disorientation. As Kirk argues in his excellent essay ‘The Memory of Violence’, communities also increasingly invoke existing cultural scripts during times of ‘crisis or calamity’ because ‘keying to cultural memory images and scripts renders such experiences intelligible, and so counters the threat of moral and social anomie, by associating them with established narratives. Yerushalmi states that “there

Buñuel remarks, cease to be at all, for what is true of the individual is true of commemorative communities:

You have to begin to lose your memory, if only in bits and pieces, to realize that memory is what makes our lives. Life without memory is no life at all . . . Our memory is our coherence, our reason, our feeling, even our action. Without it, we are nothing.⁷⁰

It is doubtless for this reason that advocates either for or against change within historical communities of memory have indeed increasingly engaged in the telling and retelling of master commemorative narratives during times of crisis or push for change.⁷¹

2.2.2 *Historical Considerations*

There is a considerable match between the picture painted above and the practices of Jews in the Second Temple period, generally, and the Johannine community, more specifically.

2.2.2.1 The Evidence within Judaism Generally

Notwithstanding high rates of illiteracy and/or the likely inaccessibility of all the texts of Gen–Kings for most people, there is good evidence that the Jews of the Second Temple period were communities of memory oriented by traditional stories of the past that animated them in the present and buoyed them for the future. This is reflected in a wide array of sources, including: the

is a pronounced tendency [in medieval Jewish chronicles] to subsume even major new events to familiar archetypes, for even the most terrible events are somehow less terrifying when viewed within old patterns rather than in their bewildering specificity” (Kirk 2005b, 194).

70 Quoted in Oliver Sacks 1998, 23. Sacks, himself a clinical neurologist, has much to say about narrative as constitutive of identity: ‘If we wish to know about a man, we ask ‘what is his story—his real, inmost story?’—for each of us *is* a biography, a story. Each of us *is* a singular narrative, which is constructed, continually, unconsciously, by, through, and in us. . . . A man *needs* such a narrative, a continuous inner narrative, to maintain his identity, his self’ (Sacks 1998, 110–111, emphasis original).

71 See, e.g., Halbwachs 1992, 106; Thatcher 1998; Watts 1997, 30–31, 45; Kelber 2004. Richard Horsley has also shown how master narratives are likely to be increasingly retold during times of struggle, not only because they maintain group identity but because they provide a profound source of inspiration and mobilization for resistance against hegemonic groups (see Horsley 2006a, esp. 183–189).

scriptures; texts retelling these stories; remnants of other 'non-literary', or peripheral, texts.

In terms of the scriptures received in the Second Temple period, injunctions to keep the past alive, both orally and textually, to transmit it to future generations, and to reenact it liturgically and 'bodily' are elemental.⁷² To illustrate: in addition to the mnemonic signs attached to the more primitive Adamic and Noahic covenants,⁷³ circumcision was presumably to aid Israel in remembering; the content of what was to be remembered is grounded and disclosed in the sequence of events related to the story of Abraham (Gen 12–17), itself an answer to the story contained in the Genesis prehistory (Gen 1–11).⁷⁴ Likewise, the annual Passover ceremony (along with the Feast of Unleavened Bread) memorializes Israel's deliverance from Egypt (Exod 12:14); this ceremony was, among other things, to be a pretext for *storytelling*: 'And when your children ask you, "What do you mean by this observance?" you shall say, "It is the pass-over sacrifice to the LORD, for he passed over the houses of the Israelites in Egypt, when he struck down the Egyptians but spared our houses"' (Exod 12:26–27). In this way God's marvellous deeds would be vouchsafed for future generations, a concern that is expressed throughout the scriptures.⁷⁵ As Hans-Peter Rüger explains with reference to these texts:

All these texts are concerned with the duty laid on fathers of telling their children (and children's children) of the great deeds of God. . . . The content of the information imparted by fathers to their children is the basic great deeds of God for his people, beginning with the plagues (Exod 10:2; Deut. 6:20–23), continuing with the people being led up out of Egypt (Exod 13:14; Deut 6:20–23; Judg 6:13), the rescue from the Sea of Reeds

72 From what can be gleaned from the scriptures themselves we can conclude that Israel was a people 'more obsessed with history than any other nation that has ever existed'. Indeed, Israel 'stand[s] alone among the people of the ancient world in having the story of their beginnings and their primitive state as clear as this in the folk-memory' (Sternberg 1985, 31).

73 See Waltke 2007, who points out that 'God accompanied his foundational covenants with icons or symbols that revive the past event into the present and that serve as short, memorable symbols of the Bible's message pertaining to the making of God's kingdom. The seed promised to Eve forms the foundation of all the other covenants and needs no other icon than the birth of covenant sons. The rainbow icon commemorates the Noahic. . .' (148).

74 See Wright 1993, 18–35.

75 E.g., Exod 10:2; 13:14; Deut 4:9–10; 6:20–3; 32:7; Josh 4:6–7; 4:21–4; Judg 6:13; Ps 44:2–3; 78:3–4; 78:5–7.

(Josh 4.21–24), the revelation on Sinai (Deut 4.9–10), right up to the crossing of the Jordan (Josh. 4.6–7, 21–24), the entry into the promised land (Deut 6.20–23) and its conquest (Ps. 44:23).⁷⁶

Not only Passover but *all* subsequent celebrations were linked to principal historical events, effectively showing a will to cause the annual calendar to ebb with memory and to flow with hope. The Feast of Tabernacles is linked to God's provision in the wilderness; the Feasts of Weeks and Firstfruits is linked to the good land where God had brought them.⁷⁷ Not only annual time but weekly time was narratively conceived. Exodus 20 roots Sabbath observance in the creation narrative, Deuteronomy 5 in the deliverance from Egypt. Much of Israel's hymnody also rehearses large sequences of Israel's past in supercharged mnemonic form.⁷⁸ Israel's Latter Prophets, as several scholars have pointed out, are essentially incomprehensible if not conceptualized in view of the events described in the Primary History.⁷⁹ Many prophetic depositions against Israel, as discussed earlier, rehearse key events from this history.⁸⁰

Between weekly and annual cycles, therefore, along with covenant celebrations and prophetic annunciations, the scriptures portray Israel's collective life as punctuated with a panoramic and ritualized narrative mnemonic: from the creation of the world, through Abraham and Israel's rescue out of Egypt, to their eventual arrival in the promised land, past time is interwoven with present time in order to ensure a continuity of identity in time. In short, it seems clear that—at least insofar as the scriptures may give us a picture into what was actually going on in the communities of Israel—the people of Israel were

76 Rieger 1991, 110. He adds: 'Apart from the revelation on Sinai, this makes up the content of Gerhard von Rad's so-called "short historical Credo"' (Rieger 1991, 110). Rieger's reference to von Rad's credo is a reference to von Rad's supposition (in *Study of the Old Testament* [1958]) that Deuteronomy 26:1–10 reflects the essence of early Israelite storytelling and self-understanding: Beginning with Jacob, Israel enters Egypt, becomes enslaved, is delivered by Yahweh from Egypt, and graciously settled in the Promised Land.

77 See DBI, 278–80; Irwin-Zarecka 1994, 57. Israel is not in any way unusual in shaping time into a calendar in this way. See the discussion in Kirk 2005a, 2–3 ('Calendar organizes duration, and so it is the essential scaffolding both for situation and reconstituting memories'), and, especially Zerubavel 2003, 30–4, who reports on an examination of one-hundred and ninety-one cross-national commemorative calendars or 'commemograms'.

78 See p. 42 below.

79 See Fee & Stuart 2004, 171; Sanders 1987, 25; Blenkinsopp 2002; Watts 2004; Wöhrle 2008.

80 See again comments on p. 10 above.

defined and redefined by remembering and (orally) rehearsing the great acts of the covenant God in creation and redemption.⁸¹

Evidence that remembering these events was not only codified in scripture but indeed alive and well in the Second Temple period is conspicuous in the monumental function of the scriptures themselves, referred to profusely in contemporaneous literature, and not least of all the FG. There is also evidence that the great Jewish feasts were observed religiously, whereupon the great events of the past were remembered. The FG, of course, which unfolds in conjunction with a cycle of Jewish feasts, stands as a monument to these mnemonically rich celebrations.⁸²

The most conspicuous evidence, however, that the basic events described in Gen–Kings were remembered in public arenas in the Second Temple period, and remembered in ways that consistently portrayed the overarching sequence of events reflected in Gen–Kings, is manifest in the survival of texts which variously retell Israel's story in abbreviated fashion. Jason Hood has recently referred to these compacted retellings of Israel's story as 'Summaries of Israel's Story' (SIS).

Hood defines an SIS as: (1) a highly condensed summary of Israel's story that is (2) within another work. He differentiates this on a compositional scale from Rewritten Bible texts insofar as Rewritten Bible texts are (1) typically expansions upon the biblical text instead of highly schematized condensations, and (2) presented as 'stand-alone' texts, instead of within other texts.⁸³ SIS are found both within and outside the OT in various sources. Hood lists one-hundred-and-ten SIS, many of them from the second and third centuries CE. The SIS that fall within our timeframe are sixty-three.⁸⁴ To these can be added

81 It should be no surprise that, as Connerton points out, the theme of 'remembrance' is itself portrayed in the scriptures as being fundamental to Israelite consciousness (see Connerton 1989, 46; also see Sanders 2001, 18). Sternberg suggests that this impulse to remember has 'no parallel in ancient times', for 'alone among Orientals and Greeks, [the Hebrew's narrative mode] addresses a people defined in terms of their past and commanded to keep its memory alive—which ordinance, judging by the numerous retrospects performed by biblical characters within the drama itself, they religiously observed' (Sternberg 1985, 31).

82 See discussion in the Introduction in Chapter 6 below.

83 Hood 2009, 67–8.

84 Exod 15; Lev 26:4–13; Deut 26:5a–10a; 29; 32; Josh 23:2–4; 24; Ps 78, 105, 106 [104–6] 135, 136 [135–7]; 1 Sam 12:7–15; 1 Kgs 8; 1 Chron 1–9; 16:8–36; Isa 5:1–7; Jer 2:2–9; Ezek 16, 20, 23; Dan 9:1–27; Ezra 5:11–17 (1 Esdras 6:13–20); Neh 9 (2 Esdras 19); Hab 3:1–16; 1 En 85–90 (Animal Apocalypse); 1 Macc 2:50–61 [2:49–68]; 1QS 1:21–2:6; 2 Bar 53–74; 3 Macc 2:1–20, 6:1–15; 4 Ezra 3–6, 7:106–11; 4 Macc 16:18–23; 4 Macc 18:11–19; 4Q504 1–2, 4:5–14; *Apoc.Abr.*

an additional fourteen not mentioned by Hood.⁸⁵ A comparative survey of fifty-nine of these seventy-five SIS produces the following four observations.⁸⁶

First, on a grand scale, Israel's story could be, and frequently was, represented as a sequence of up to seven epochal moves.

- (1) In light of the back-story told in Gen 1–11, especially about the Creator and his creation, Israel is:
- (2) Established (Elected/Chosen)
- (3) Rescued out of Egypt
- (4) Provided for in/Led through the Wilderness
- (5) Settled through Conquest
- (6) Exiled (either presented as fact or promise/prediction)
- (7) Returned/Restored (either presented as fact or promise/prayer/prediction)

Of these seven moves, God's rescue and exile of Israel (i.e. their climactic beginning and end as a nation) are mentioned most consistently (rescue is mentioned in 75% of the texts examined, exile in 70%); their establishment, settling, return from exile/restoration, and provision in the wilderness are mentioned next in terms of frequency (64%, 58%, 55%, and 47% respectively); and an emphasis on God the Cosmic Creator and/or the Primeval History is mentioned least, occurring in only about a third of the texts examined (32%).

Second, these seven epochal moves are usually described in conjunction with a rehearsal of core stock phrases, archetypal symbols, and/or frame images. For example, to focus for the moment on Israel's rescue, the

23–31; *Ascen. Isa* 3:13–4:18 (= *Testament of Hezekiah*); *As. Mos.* 1–10; CD, 'The Exhortation'; *J. W.* 5.8.4, 5.9.4, 6.2.1; Jdt 5; *Hypoth.* 8.5.11–6.8 (= Eusebius, *Prep. Ev.* 8.5.11–6.8); *Praem.* 11–56; *Virt.* 199–227; *L.A.B.* 32:1–17; *Sir* 44–50; *Song of Songs Targum*; *T. Mos* 1–10; *T. Lev* 14–18; *Wis* 10–19; *Matt* 1:1–17; *Mark* 12:1–12, *Matt* 21:33–46 and *Luke* 20:9–18; *Acts* 7; *Acts* 13:16–41 (or 13:16–48); *Rom* 9–11; *Heb* 11:1–12:2; *Rev* 12:1–12 [or 12:1–9, 13–17] (see Hood 2009, 78–84).

85 2 *Sam* 7:1–25; *Psalms* 66, 74, 77, 81, 89, *Hos* 13:4–14:9, *Mic* 6:1–7:20, 2 *Macc* 1:24–8, 4 *Ezra* 1:1–2:48, 3:1–27, and *Wis* 10:1–11:14; 4Q504 1–2; 4Q504 4:5–14.

86 I have compared: *Exod* 15:1–21; *Lev* 26:4–13; *Deut* 26:5a–10a; 29:1–30:20; 32:1–33:29; *Josh* 23:2–4; 24:1–33; *Ps* 66, 74, 77, 78; 81, 89; 104; 105; 106 [or 104–6?]; 135; 136; 1 *Sam* 12:7–15; 2 *Sam* 7:1–25; 1 *Kgs* 8:1–66; 1 *Chron* 1:1–9:31; 16:8–36; *Isa* 5:1–7; *Jer* 2:2–9; *Ezek* 16:1–63; 20:1–44; 23:1–49; *Dan* 9:1–27; *Ezra* 5:11–17; *Neh* 9:1–37; *Hab* 3:1–16; *Hos* 13:4–14:9; *Mic* 6:1–7:20; 1 *Macc* 2:49–67; 2 *Macc* 1:24–8; *Jub.* 1:1–25; 3 *Macc* 2:1–20; 3 *Macc* 6:1–15; 4 *Macc* 16:18–24; 4 *Ezra* 1:1–2:48; 4 *Ezra* 3:1–27; *Wis* 10:1–11:29, 17:1–19:22; *Sir* 44:1–49:16; *Jud* 5:1–24; 1 *En* 85–90; 4 *Bar* 53–74; 1QS 1:19–2:10; 4Q504 1–2; 4Q504 4:5–14; *Matt* 1:1–25; *Acts* 7; 13:16–48; *Rom* 9:1–35; *Heb* 11; *J. W.* 5:375–419; *Song of Songs Targum*.

phrase 'brought you up out of' (אֶצֶק) is standard.⁸⁷ The symbols 'dry land',⁸⁸ 'waters/seas',⁸⁹ and 'darkness and light' (along with 'pillar/cloud'),⁹⁰ are frequently associated with this event (among many others). More generally, but no less substantially, this epochal event is also consistently framed in conjunction with more thematic images and concepts such as the 'signs and wonders' performed by Moses or Yahweh that led to Israel's departure from Egypt,⁹¹ or the way in which the Exodus event brought about, or was for, the 'glory' or 'revelation' of Yahweh's person, power, and 'name'.⁹²

Third, the epochal events mentioned may be dischronologized and/or, as with Fleming's novels, presented in conjunction with side-issues (satellites) and embellishments. Thus, in Leviticus 26 the basic schema of Israel's story is not only dischronologized⁹³ but adorned with memorable warnings (punish you 'seven times over', vv. 18, 21, 23, 27) and colorful descriptions ('I will walk among you and be your God', v. 12). Ezekiel dramatically adjoins his retelling of Israel's story to metaphors of marriage, prostitution, and adultery (Ezek 16, 23).

Fourth, almost all SIS, as with Rewritten Bible texts, display a clear ideological thrust, betraying a fairly clear principle of selection.⁹⁴ Thus, where Habbakuk will retell the basic schema of Israel's story to emphasize the awesome power of Yahweh (3:3–15) and, thus, the hope of a currently imperilled Israel for a renewed rescue (vv. 1–2, 16), Stephen will emphasize (among temple themes) how Israel, who consistently rejected elect leaders of God in history, have done so again with Christ (Acts 7; see especially v. 51b–53).

87 Lev 26:13; Deut 26:8; 29:24; Jos 24:5; 1 Sam 12:8; 1 Ki 8:9, 16, 21, 51, 53; Ps 105:37, 43; 136:11; Ezek 20:6, 9, 14, 22, 38, 41; Dan 9:15; Mic 7:15.

88 Exod 15:19; Neh 9:11; Ps 66:6; Heb 11:29a; *Song of Songs Targum* 1:9e–i.

89 Exod 15:1–10; Josh 24:6–7; Pss 66:6; 74:13; 77:16; 89:9; Hab 3:1–16; Neh 9:11; 3 Macc 2:7; 6:4; 4 Esd 1:13; Wis 10:18–19; Jud 5:13; Heb 11:29a.

90 Josh 24:7; Pss 78:14; 105:28; 105:39; Neh 9:12; Wis 10:17.

91 Exod 15:11; Deut 26:8; 29:3; Josh 24:17; 2 Sam 7:23; Pss 74:9; 78:12, 43; 105:27; 106:7, 21–2; 135:9; Mic 7:15; Neh 9:10; 4 Bar 60:2; Wis 10:16; 11:1; Acts 7:36; *Song of Songs Targum* 1:3a; 2:12.

92 Exod 15:11; Ezek 20:5b; Dan 9:15; Neh 9:10; Rom 9:15–18; *Song of Songs Targum* 1:9.

93 E.g., Leviticus 26 mentions Israel's rescue (v. 13, 45) and establishment in the patriarchs (v. 42) in the midst of exhortations about settlement (vv. 3–12), curses leading to exile (vv. 14–38), and restoration (vv. 40–44).

94 Joachim Jeska had come to the same conclusion in his own study, *Die Geschichte Israels in der Sicht des Lukas* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: Göttingen, 2001). As Hood summarizes: 'Summaries of Israel's Story texts are not historical reporting, but attempts to *actualize* Israel's history, bringing it to bear for present or future purposes.... [They] are never 'neutral' representations, but always play a role in the narrative in question and are crafted for precisely the task in question' (Hood 2009, 60).

These observations are suggestive in light of the theoretical discussion above. For if, in addition to being numerous and geographically widespread, SIS texts are highly: (1) schematically ordered and sweeping in scope, (2) imagistic and tending toward archetypal symbols and figures, (3) schematically structured yet creatively varied, and (4) ideologically tailored in order to address ad hoc audiences—as we have just concluded they are—then the presence of SIS within the Second Temple period may well be reflective, not only of their own history of usage in the oral/aural sphere, but of a robust storytelling practice for the benefit of orally dependent communities within Judaism more generally. This is true, of course, because the very features found in the SIS just described are precisely the kind of features that our theoretical discussion suggests would have served the ongoing mnemonic, rhetorical and ideological needs of an orally-situated community of memory.⁹⁵ Further, it is doubtful whether the SIS texts we do possess are the only summaries that ever existed and/or were performed. They likely signal a much larger habit of orally situated retellings of Israel's grand narrative that is no longer available to us, betokening a pervasive knowledge of the basic schema of Israel's story.

Richard Horsley's work on popular movements at the time of Jesus within Palestinian Judaism supports this conclusion. Examining references in texts which give evidence of these movements, Horsley shows how many of these movements were themselves stylized after, and thus animated by, a litany of scriptural characters and the stories in which they acted, despite their widespread illiteracy. For example:

The nonliterate peasantry in Judea, Galilee, and Perea... produced numerous concrete movements led by charismatic leaders acclaimed as "king."... [Furthermore,] it is clear from Josephus's accounts that these movements were modeled on the Israelite resistance to Philistine occupation led by the young David.⁹⁶

Similar movements were patterned after Moses, Joshua, and Elijah, no doubt because they too, like David, were all heroic figures of deliverance in first-century popular memory:

⁹⁵ This is not to say that SIS could not have served the needs of literate communities of memory. It is simply to recognize that if the majority of people were illiterate or only meagerly literate throughout the Second Temple period, then it is likely that these SIS were specifically composed (either orally or in writing) for the 'ear' with this sort of audience in mind.

⁹⁶ Horsley 2006a, 180–1. See further on pp. 243–246 below.

Each of these prophets led followers in anticipation of a new divine act of deliverance. Like a new Moses, a Samaritan prophet led people up Mount Gerizim, where, he declared, they would find the precious remains of the tabernacle from Mount Sinai. Like a new Moses and/or Joshua, Theudas led his people out of the Jordan River to cross in (or from) the wilderness. The prophet who returned to Judea “from Egypt,” stepping into a role like that of Joshua at Jericho, led his followers up to the Mount of Olives, from which they would witness the collapse of the walls of Jerusalem and the disappearance of the Roman garrison.⁹⁷

Quite conspicuously, these symbolic actions constituted a sort of ‘on-the-street’ referencing. No explicit appeal to texts is made. Instead, pregnant settings are entered, and impregnated actions are ‘born’. The conclusion to be drawn, avows Horsley, is that there was within Palestinian Judaism during the time of Jesus ‘a general and widespread popular memory of these heroic Israelite prophets of old and the people’s liberation and entry into the land that they spearheaded’.⁹⁸ That these memories were alive outside of Palestine, in the early church, is clear in the Gospel of Mark. For here, the same popular memories used to frame movements at the time of Jesus are, without ‘quotations of or allusions to proto-scriptural books’, used to frame the ministry of Jesus.⁹⁹ The reasonable conclusion to be drawn is that the memory of key figures such as Moses and Elijah ‘would have been cultivated orally in village communities’.¹⁰⁰

This does not prove, of course, that the people behind these movements were in the habit of conceptualizing these legendary figures as fitting onto some sort of grand ‘narrative continuum’, because it is possible that they thought of these figures in isolation from a larger narrative schema. Yet, in light of the human mind’s craving for structure and the presence of so many highly schematized (and therefore memorable) *sis*, this is most unlikely. In fact, the capacity of popular leaders to stylize themselves after any number of prominent figures from Israel’s salient past is not a likely indication of the narrowness of Israelite tradition at the time, but rather of its versatility and depth. One movement, precisely because of the depth of the traditional repertoire available, patterns itself after the campaign of Elijah in order to stylize its project distinctively as a house-cleaning job, while implicitly framing its opponents as a new idol-loving

97 Horsley 2006a, 182–3.

98 Horsley 2006a, 182–3.

99 Horsley 2006a, 182; cf. Horsley 2005, 77.

100 Horsley 2006a, 182.

leadership. Another movement patterns itself after the campaign of Moses in order to stylize its mission more particularly as a liberation, while implicitly framing its political opponents as a new Pharaonic Egypt.

However this is judged, it does seem suggestive that, when taken together, the figures most prominently imitated by these popular movements (Moses, Joshua, David, and Elijah) span the history of Israel from the time of slavery under Pharaoh to apostasy in the days of Elijah, representing the sweep of Exodus to Kings. This seems to beg the question: is it really probable that one who knew of Moses' victory over Pharaoh and its results was ignorant of the victories of Joshua and David and those results? And even more: Is it really probable that those who knew of Moses, Joshua, David, and Elijah's ultimate accomplishments knew nothing of the historical tissue causally joining these figures together in time and space? It seems doubtful. Indeed, if social memory theorists and cognitive scientists are right, these legendary figures are remembered, and remembered so well, precisely because they are embedded in a narrative that colourfully situates them in time and space. Further, these figures are remembered because they can be envisaged within a coherent structure, however abbreviated. Indeed, it might even be argued that comprehension of these figures requires the simultaneous comprehension of a larger narrative framework, even if minimally. For example, in order to understand Moses, a prior knowledge of Israel's election seems necessary; to understand Israel's election, a prior understanding of the Primeval History seems requisite. Likewise, reenacting the campaigns of Joshua and David implies that Israel is in a wilderness or compromised state that needs to be overcome. It would seem most likely, therefore, if not necessary, that, in oral discourse, all the narrative 'dots' were connected and the schema of Israel's story would have been told as an interconnected whole 'from beginning to end'.

Beyond the written remnants themselves—whether in Palestine or elsewhere, and whether from scriptural texts or abbreviated retellings—the concrete evidence for oral/aural performances of Israel's 'whole' story within Second Temple period is unavailable. What we do know with a fair degree of certainty, however, is that the Temple, synagogue, and home were places of prayer, recitation of and instruction in the Hebrew scriptures.¹⁰¹ It might be extrapolated from this that, even if only the Psalms were read or recited from memory in these places, the basic schema of Israel's story would still be known by illiterates. For as I have already pointed out, beside the many Psalms which imply a knowledge of Israel's history, many of the Psalms actually spell out

101 For an excellent introductory discussion on each of these ritual spaces in early Judaism, see Jaffee 2005, 172–225.

this history in SIS fashion, and in triply mnemonic form (poetry, condensation, and song).¹⁰² Recitals of exalted prayers like Nehemiah 9, where the author sequentially rehearses God's election (vv. 7–8), rescue (vv. 9–12), provision (vv. 13–21), settlement through conquest (vv. 22–26), exile (vv. 27–30), hope for a renewed rescue/restoration of Israel (vv. 31–38), and all in light of God's power as cosmic creator of heaven and earth (vv. 5b–6), would have had the same narrative-informing effect. There is some good preliminary indication that such 'canonically' globalizing prayers were common.¹⁰³ All of this makes it most likely that not only scribes but ordinary folk would have also had an imprint of the overarching story of Israel branded deeply in memory, powerfully determinative of their vision of the world and available for recall or revision.

2.2.2.2 Evidence within the Johannine Community

The FG as it was profiled in Chapter 1 may now be compared with the discoveries of the present chapter. Doing so indicates that the Johannine community would also have been deeply invested in rehearsing Israel's core narratives and teaching their contents to new members. This follows from three basic considerations.

First, as seen in the FE's many references to 'scripture', Israel's scriptures held a monumentally significant place within the Johannine community. This indicates that efforts would be made to attend to and immerse new adherents in the contents of these symbolically central and constitutive texts.

Second, the Johannine community was likely embroiled in an ongoing conflict with the synagogue.¹⁰⁴ In accord with the idea that a community will intensify its engagement with its salient past in times of crisis or push for change, we can once again affirm on the basis of social memory theory that the Johannine community would have been passionately involved in telling

102 In Psalm 136, for example, five out of the seven epochal moves are sequentially and explicitly charted. The congregation is summoned to 'Give thanks to the Lord who 'made the heavens' (etc, see vv. 5–9), who 'struck down the firstborn in Egypt... [etc]' (vv. 10–15), who 'led his people through the desert... [etc]' (v. 16), and 'struck down great kings' in order to settle Israel 'in their land as an inheritance... [etc]' (vv. 17–25). While Israel's election by God is merely implied in Ps 136, and Israel's exile and projected return/restoration is not mentioned at all, it is significant that these schematic elements are explicitly mentioned in Psalms 135 and 137, where we are assured that 'the Lord has chosen Jacob to be his own, Israel to be his treasured possession' (135:4), and where the Psalmist decries, 'How can we sing the songs of the Lord in a foreign land?... O Daughter of Babylon... happy is he who repays you for what you have done to us' (vv. 4, 8).

103 See J. H. Newman 1998.

104 Again, this basic background is now widely accepted. See again Ch. 1 n. 49 above.

and ideologically retelling its salient past for the ongoing needs of identity formation. The fact that each time—and the only times—the FG mentions anyone ‘remembering’ (ἐμνήσθησαν; 2:17, 22; 12:16) is directly related to what γεγραμμένον (2:17; 12:16) or to τῇ γραφῇ (2:22) certainly points to these scriptures as the central site of collective memory and constitutive identity for the Johannine community.

Third, all the major events rehearsed in SIS appear to be acknowledged in the FG.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, it must be taken as suggestive that while the FE several times pauses in his narrative to translate certain Jewish Aramaisms and identify certain Jewish events—such as ‘rabbi’ (1:38), ‘Messiah’ (1:41), ‘Cephas’ (1:42), ‘the Jew’s Passover’ (2:13)—no doubt for the benefit of an uninformed contingent within his audience, when it comes to a surfeit of distinctively Jewish personages, events, language, and symbols whose meaning is embedded in commemorative back-stories like Passover, the Feast of Tabernacles and the like, no explanation is offered.¹⁰⁶ Since many of the FE’s use of these figures and events frequently have a clear ideological thrust that would have been meaningful for followers and/or Jewish seekers/gainsayers of Jesus, it seems fair to conclude that these scriptural references are not explained precisely because they were familiar to at least some in the Johannine community.¹⁰⁷ These signals in the text may be taken, therefore, as

105 See again p. 8 above.

106 For example, Elijah (1:21), the Prophet (1:21), Moses (3:14), Jacob (4:5), Joseph (4:5), the Jews’ ‘fathers in the desert’ (6:31), the Jews’ ‘fathers’ who preceded Moses (7:22), David (7:42), Abraham (8:39), Solomon (10:23), Passover (2:13; 6:1; 12:1), Feast of Tabernacles (7:2), and pregnant images and phrases such as ‘in the beginning’ (1:1), ‘beyond the Jordan’ (1:28), ‘Lamb of God’ (1:), ‘angels of God ascending and descending’ (1:51), ‘Jacob’s well’ (4:6), ‘the serpent in the wilderness’ (3:14), ‘manna in the desert’ (6:31), ‘the works’ of Abraham (8:39–40), the Devil who has been lying ‘since the beginning’ (8:44), ‘sheep’ and ‘shepherd’ (10:1, 11), ‘vine’ (15:1), and ‘garden’ (19:41), are all referred to *without explanation*. The same applies to well-known figures from Jesus’ ministry such as Peter and John the Baptist, suggesting a familiarity with these figures as well.

107 Catrin Williams’ recent discussion on the FE’s veiled reference to ‘the works of Abraham’ in John 8:39 (Williams 2011a) certainly supports this conclusion. As Williams demonstrates, it is clear that Abraham was remembered in late Second Temple Judaism for ‘a wide range of deeds and attributes’ including ‘his role as a model of righteousness, hospitality, faithfulness and receptiveness to God’s word’ (215). The phrase ‘the works of Abraham’ could have elicited any one of these memories. Because Jesus along with his word from God is being rejected by the Jews, something Abraham is distinctively said ‘not to have done’ (8:40), the likely memory being evoked here is of Abraham’s hospitable ‘reception of heavenly messengers at the oaks of Mamre (Gen 18:1–18)’ (215). This event, then, is resignified around Jesus in order to prove the mistaken identity of those

broadly representative of the 'mental encyclopedia' or 'memory pool' shared by the FE and his audience(s).

2.3 Conclusion

The theoretical and historical factors discussed in this chapter demonstrate that the Johannine community would all but certainly have been engaged in the telling and retelling of foundational narratives for the formation and reformation of group identity. The working hypothesis of this study, therefore, will be that the FE's audience was populated with a sizeable cross-section of individuals who had adequately heard or read the overarching narrative of scripture to have it branded as an 'indelible picture' in their minds.¹⁰⁸ This is to say nothing yet, of course, of the particular knowledge of particular stories in the Johannine community. Questions of this nature must be addressed on a case-by-case basis with reference to what is apparent and/or can be reconstructed from traditional sources.

Two disclaimers may be offered before proceeding to the next chapter. First, although I have been arguing that Johannine Christians would have had an idea of Israel's overarching story, this proposition is not strictly necessary to my thesis. Even if it could be shown that Johannine Christians were ignorant of a 'story of Israel', the FE could still have patterned his story of Jesus after the story of Israel as something of a 'literary' or 'cognitive template', in order to guide and perhaps restrain his own thoughts. There is even some basis to believe that he could have done so unconsciously because of the human mind's natural tendency to fit new information into old and familiar forms. The drawback to this construal, of course, is that I would not be able to claim that the FE's use of scripture in this regard was ideological, designed to teach and/or convince his hearers about who Jesus is in order to spark or sustain faith. From everything that has hitherto been argued about the FG, a strictly rhetorical or non-ideological use of scripture is most unlikely. Thus, this thesis will proceed on the notion of an ideologically-driven 'scriptural tale' in the FG.

Jews who are now rejecting him. Furthermore, being a Jew is redefined as rebirth in Jesus, not physical birth from Abraham. Consequently, it can be seen that a foundational story within Israel's master narrative is reshaped and resignified to redound as a story about Abraham's reception of Jesus. In this way, the community's memory of Abraham is reconfigured into a powerful vehicle of community legitimization.

108 I.e., as with Plato and his own narratives. See again the epigraph at the beginning of this chapter.

Second, the FE could have retold the story of Israel in his Gospel without having thought of his retelling as a distinctively ‘scriptural tale’. He could have (in theory) thought of it in straight historical terms, as ‘the tale of Israel’, or in terms of the annual calendar or some sort of ‘liturgical tale’. With the FE’s use and emphasis on scripture, however, and with the authoritative and monumental prominence of scripture in Jewish circles more generally, this is most unlikely. It is indeed hard, given this environment, to imagine that any apprehension of a telling of the story of Israel would be heard without reference to the scriptures in which this story was preeminently enshrined.¹⁰⁹ Thus, I will conceptualize the FE’s project in what follows as a *bona fide* ‘scriptural tale’.

The critical task now is to demonstrate how such a tale—*sub-tale* as it is—might be credibly detected and assessed.

¹⁰⁹ See the relevant comments in Esler and Thatcher 2005, 167–8.

A Story Detectable? Methodological Considerations

[Objects of intuition] are scarcely seen; they are felt rather than seen; there is the greatest difficulty in making them felt by those who do not themselves perceive them ... [because they are apprehended] at once, and not by a process of reasoning, at least to a certain degree.¹

• • •

Only a delicate and mature judgment bred of familiarity with a tradition will be able to feel whether a suggested allusion is solid or insubstantial. The truth must be divined, groped for by taste and experience rather than some sort of scientific method.²

• • •

[We must] from a general perspective draw a few fundamental distinctions about the ontology of different kinds of texts, distinctions which have not been made and very much need to be made.³

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3.1 Introduction

It is axiomatic that the nature of an object to be analyzed dictates its own method(s) for analysis. Illustrated simply, analyzing the topography of the lunar surface demands a telescope, not a microscope; analyzing the reproductive fission of an amoeba demands a microscope, not a telescope. This is true for every peculiar object with reference to the question being asked of it: each object, given its own unique ontology, dictates its own optimal method(s) for

¹ Pascal, *Pensées*, I.1.

² Allison 2000, 6.

³ Foley 1990, 5.

analysis.⁴ In this light, the challenge in developing a method for this study is twofold.

First, with reference to media studies and the question of how the FG communicates as verbal art, a scriptural tale in the FG must be deemed a complex object, one that demands to be appreciated in a duly complicated manner. It has long been judged that, purported aporias aside, the FG in the form we now have it is the product of a gifted writer, who conveys meaning via a developed literary art and intertextual facility, where intertextuality is understood as a 'text-referencing-text' phenomenon. The composition of the FG from this vantage point is the result of a highly textual and text-sensitive process. There is certainly evidence within the FG to support aspects of this literary assessment.⁵

What complicates this picture of the FG's literary nature, however, is the increasing recognition among biblical scholars that NT documents, like Israel's scriptures, took shape in, and have been powerfully influenced by, irreducibly 'oral' and 'traditional' media contexts. 'Oral' here refers not to the sole but predominant mode of communication of the era, the spoken word, even in the production and transmission of written works.⁶ 'Traditional' refers to a given community's tralatitious reservoir of narrative and lore that comprises the idiomatic, thematic, and cognitive material of collective memory, which in predominantly oral societies is not always thought of or experienced in terms of texts or, at least, specific texts. This oral-traditional environment suggests the rather obvious fact that the FG was at least as much designed for listening audiences as potential (elite) reading audiences. It also, and more importantly, suggests that the conditions consistently affiliated with oral-traditional cultures would have accompanied—and, indeed, tintured—all aspects of production, performance, and reception of the FG. Recent research

4 See Waltke 2007, 79.

5 See, for example, the works of Culpepper 1983; Staley 1988; Moloney 1993; Stibbe 1993; Stibbe 1994; Moloney 1996; Moloney 1998a.

6 See, for example, the discussions in Achtemeier 1990; Van Der Toorn 2007; Rodríguez 2009; Witherington 2010; Rhoads 2010; Carr 2010; Hearon 2010; Hezser 2010. The situation as a whole has been well epitomized by Walter Ong: 'Ancient chirographs came to life, both from the angle of composition and from the angle of reception, in an environment saturated with oral sensitivities. Precisely because handwritten documents were not perceived to be strictly autonomous entities with strictly impermeable boundaries, they interacted in part and *in toto* with oral discourse' (Ong 1995, 141).

has confirmed this general hypothesis: the FG is replete with oral sensitivities,⁷ and has even been said to function macrocosmically as a ‘memory theatre’.⁸

Consequently, it is no longer sufficient to treat the FG singularly as literature, especially if ‘literature’ is conceived with unchecked contemporary and print culture sensibilities. As Joanna Dewey has observed, ‘the media system in which a work is created or used affects all aspects of the production and reception of the work. The manuscript media world of antiquity, with its high degrees of aurality and orality, functioned very differently from our modern print media system’.⁹ Medievalist scholar Nancy Mason Bradbury concurs: ‘If the text in question arose from a culture in which books were few or nonexistent, if their production was time-consuming and expensive, if writing was a highly specialized skill and verbal art was regularly experienced aurally—all of which is true of the FG’s context¹⁰—‘then that work’s written state is itself a critical issue’.¹¹ In short, in addition to being literary, it must be acknowledged that the FG is at the very least—as John Miles Foley has denominated—an ‘oral-derived’ text, which is to say, a written text ‘of finally uncertain provenance that nonetheless shows oral traditional characteristics’.¹²

The hermeneutical implication of acknowledging the FG’s hybrid media nature as oral and written can hardly be overstated. As demonstrated by leading scholars in the developing fields of ethnopoetics, the ethnography of speaking, folklore studies, and especially oral-formulaic theory as expressed in Foley’s theory of ‘Immanent Art’, the critical difference between textually and orally situated compositions is not merely between their presenting mediums: one penned in space, the other spoken in time; one memorialized on ‘paper’, the other lost forever. Rather, the critical difference is in their com-

7 See the collection of essays in Le Donne and Thatcher 2011. Further, the FG is well known for its chiasms or concentric structures (Culpepper 1980; Ellis 1999; Ellis 2003), the recurring structuring of stories (Lee 1995), and the capacity of its parts to emblemize the whole message (as with the signs, for example; see Dodd 1953, 383, 384; D. Moody Smith 1995, 108). These features would suggest oral influences according to Horsley: ‘It is typical of oral narrative that particular sequences of episodes or stanzas exemplify, in microcosm, the overall theme or plot of the narrative . . . formulaic connective devices (like “and,” “immediately,” “and again” . . .) . . . “narrative maneuvering,” such as the well known Markan “sandwich” technique of juxtaposing two stories, one framing the other . . . concentric or chiastic structuring of several stories . . . chains of stories that have the same order’ (Horsley 2010a, 105–6).

8 Thatcher 2007.

9 Dewey 1995a, 1.

10 See again discussion beginning on p. 24 above.

11 Bradbury 1998, 136. Also see Rodríguez 2009.

12 Foley 1990, 5.

municative *poetics*, in *how* meaning is conveyed.¹³ Put generally, a work that is rooted in an oral-traditional society and composed for oral audiences will not convey meaning in the same way, with the same referential and morphological repertoire, as a 'literary' work, especially in the modern sense of that word.¹⁴ Similarly, an oral-derived work—which falls somewhere in the middle of an oral/literate continuum—will convey meaning distinctly, according to a combination of oral and written poetic sensibilities.¹⁵ Naturally, our approach to the FG must be calibrated to this hermeneutical complexity.¹⁶ A failure to modulate our method at this point is 'to send the text's system of signification into dysfunction'.¹⁷ For example, the question must be asked, as

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- 13 Adele Berlin's definition of poetics as applied to literary texts is equally applicable for oral texts: 'Poetics, the science of literature, is not an interpretive effort—it does not aim to elicit meaning from a text. Rather it aims to find the building blocks of literature and the rules by which they are assembled. . . . If literature is likened to a cake, then poetics gives us the recipe and interpretation tells us how it tastes. . . . [Poetics] samples many cakes in order to find their recipes'. Furthermore, 'in its broadest application, poetics is quite abstract. It is not interested in one particular composition, or even in one class of compositions; it is interested in all existing and potential compositions' (Berlin 1983, 15).
- 14 See Weeks 2011, 470.
- 15 For a fine description of several possible oral-literate 'cultures' along oral-literate continuums, see Robbins 1995; Robbins 1993, who identifies *oral* ('proceeds on basis of spoken word alone'), *scribal* ('reproduces speech or writing for various purposes'), *rhetorical* ('features comprehensive interaction between spoken and written statement'), *reading* ('authorizes spoken statement through verbatim reading of written text'), *literary* ('presupposes that people read texts regularly'), *print* ('distributes multiple copies of written text in verbatim form'), and *hypertext* ('features "non-sequential writing—text that branches and allows choices to the reader"') cultures. Robbins argues that the first-century Church was rooted in a 'rhetorical' culture, marked by a robust interaction between written and oral realities. Further, 'in practice, this means that writing in a rhetorical culture imitates both speech and writing, and speech in a rhetorical culture imitates both speech and writing' (Robbins 1995, 80). On the power dynamics inherent in these various media dynamics in the first-century CE, cf. Dewey 1995b, 60; Jaffee 1995, 70–2; Rodríguez 2009, 168–9.
- 16 'Christian origins research, including Gospels and Jesus research, needs to take account *both* of the ubiquity of written texts even in oral environments *and* the artificiality of our analyses when we reduce Second Temple Jewish phenomena to written texts' (Rodríguez 2009, 163).
- 17 'When we make exclusively literary demands of an oral traditional text, we send that system of signification into dysfunction, impairing its ability to convey meaning. We ask it to do things it was not meant and cannot be made to do, and we express our disappointment over its shortcomings. It is time to recognize that these shortcomings are our own: they derive from applying the wrong cognitive categories, and this misapplication results in violation of the reading imperative' (Foley 1991, 54).

it recently has been by Tom Thatcher, whether the alleged ‘aporias’ in the FG are not aporias at all but evidence of signature pauses and transitional disjunctions that are customary in live performances.¹⁸ Put otherwise, the somewhat complicated challenge of the present chapter is to develop an adequate theory of verbal art that matches the complexity of the FG as a piece of oral and written verbal art, and to do this with specific reference to a scriptural tale in the FG.

It should be noted before proceeding that this determination to develop and implement what Foley calls a ‘syncretic poetics’¹⁹ stands in marked contrast to the usual *modus operandi* in Johannine and biblical studies more generally. This is probably due both to the newness of fields of oral research and to the inconvenience and/or angst such acknowledgement can bring. Most modern scholars live and think within textual and print-culture mindsets, and are thus frequently stymied by what Foley judges a ‘textual ideology’²⁰ or an exclusively ‘tAgora’ sensibility. Foley’s term tAgora, along with oAgora and eAgora, are designed to convey principal mediums of communication within human societies. As he explains, the Greek marketplace—the *agora*—was ‘a physical site for exchange, in general a center for municipal interactions of many sorts’:

It served its constituency uniquely as a designated public space and nexus for social transactions.... The term “agora”... denote[s] a *verbal marketplace*, a virtual site for exchange, a public space and nexus where ideas and knowledge are shared via whatever medium the community has adopted as the default technology. As such, it takes three forms: oral (the oAgora), electronic (the eAgora), and textual (the tAgora). Each of these three venues operates according to its own dynamics for creation and transmission.²¹

18 Thatcher 2011a.

19 Foley describes a syncretic poetics as ‘a poetics that acknowledges the contributions of both’ text-based and oral-based strategies of composition (see Foley 1995a, 1:207).

20 ‘Ideologies pre-empt considered judgments. They short-circuit critical thinking by automatically defaulting to familiar, comfortable, pre-designated positions.... Only because we subscribe to the ideology of the text... we don’t pause over how texts work, what they do, and most importantly what they define out of existence’ (Foley 2010, http://pathways-project.org/pathways/show/Ideology_of_the_Text). For a similar assessment of modern approaches to texts from a folklorist’s perspective see Krupat 1987, 113–16.

21 Foley 2010, http://pathwaysproject.org/pathways/show/Agora_as_Verbal_Marketplace.

The problem with modern scholarship's almost exclusive focus on tAgora realities is well explained by Walter Ong: "The 'relentless domination of textuality in the scholarly mind' has caused us to lose touch with human minds and memories, with the processing of language via texts *and* by word of mouth, and the interfacing of all these realities'.²² It is thus not immediately clear to the modern scholar how to deal with texts produced within oral and written 'biospheres'.²³ Consequently, single-pronged approaches are selected over efforts to develop symbiotic approaches to bifid texts.²⁴ Gail O'Day represents this tendency with reference to the FG when, in response to a series of groundbreaking essays on the oral media of the FG, she cautions that hypotheses of an oral nature must be tempered and, indeed, subordinated to a focus on the written artefact. This methodological prejudice is necessary, she reasons, because (to paraphrase) *at the end of the day we only have the text*.²⁵

However, as I hope to demonstrate in the present chapter, to subordinate oral issues by stressing that we only have a text is a confusion. Precisely because the fundamental issue lies in variables in oral and literary poetics—that is, in how they convey meaning and thus how meaning has been encoded and/or fossilized within these texts—the critical issue is not that 'We only have a text, but 'What sort of text do we have?' Berlin's critical insight that we cannot know

22 Ong 1995, 141, emphasis original.

23 'Kelber's brilliant metaphor of the "biosphere" ... designates "a collective cultural memory, comprised of discourse and chirographs, and shared by speakers and hearers alike" (Foley 1995b, 171).

24 As Foley explains: 'When a poem is informed by *both* a traditional *and* a non-traditional, learned aesthetic, there is very often a tendency on the part of critics to eliminate either the one or the other aspect. In an effort to make its poetics more straightforward, these critics would dismiss the vigor of such a hybrid text by miscasting its real nature or by characterizing it pejoratively as a "mixed" work' (Foley 1990, 7).

25 As O'Day explains in her concluding response to the essays collected in *The Fourth Gospel and First-Century Media Culture* (2011): 'One of the unavoidable problems in attempting to interpret written texts through the lens of oral culture is the need to explain a written text either through recourse to hypothesized oral sources, or through recourse to suppositions about what the oral performance might have been like. In many essays in this volume, for example, authors have no choice but to rely on probabilities to advance their theses: the storyteller may have made a gesture here, changed his/her intonation for effect, turned to face the audience to mark this transition, and so on. While such probabilities help to create a rich picture of what the oral transmission of the Gospel of John may have been like, and how original audiences may have heard the Gospel, there is no way to move beyond the level of probability and supposition'. Thus, for critical evaluation, 'the written text, the non-hypothetical artefact' must 'provide the methodological controls' (O'Day 2011, 245).

what a text speaks until we know *how* a text speaks must once again be brought to the fore of critical enquiry.²⁶ If how the FG speaks is as much orally as literarily influenced, then the imprint or vestige of both of these art forms will be residual within the text. Putative aporias may indeed be explained on other grounds. The trick to understanding what the text says in a sufficiently nuanced fashion, therefore, will be proportional to how adroit we can become in detecting tAgora and oAgora media forms operating symbiotically in the FG.²⁷ Or, as medievalist Paul Zumthor colourfully expresses, the trick to a sufficiently nuanced understanding will lie in the degree to which we can detect literary forms while at once resurrecting the ‘volume’ of orally performed works that have been ‘flattened, crushed onto paper or parchment by the heavy weight of centuries’.²⁸ It is hoped that the syncretic poetics developed in this chapter will contribute to what is, as yet, largely uncharted territory in Johannine studies.²⁹

It must be said, however, that whether written or oral or both, the second, and in some ways more imposing, methodological challenge facing us in this study remains the same. Namely, how do *I*, the modern interpreter and reader of the FG, detect a scriptural framework in the FG that can be plausibly attributed to the designs of the author? Identifying covert associations in general, not to mention a scripturally-signalled ‘sub-tale’ laconically told in the prologue and underpinning the breadth of the FG is, from all media perspectives, an elusive object, riddled with complexity and vulnerable to the accusation of subjectivity. Some may wonder if any method can truly discover, as opposed

26 Berlin 1983, 17. Gadamer’s insistence that the foundational role of hermeneutics is not so much to develop procedures of understanding as ‘to clarify the conditions in which understanding takes place’ is likewise salient (Gadamer 1975, 295). O’Day herself grants this principal in her work *Revelation in the Fourth Gospel: Narrative Mode and Theological Claim* (1986) when she remarks that ‘throughout the Fourth Gospel, what is said cannot be experienced apart from how it is said!’ (O’Day 1986, 96).

27 ‘What we might expect to emerge, then, is an oral traditional poetics that will share some of its features with literary poetics but will differ in other features’ (Foley 1991, 6).

28 Quoted in Bradbury 1998, 136.

29 Even with this intention stated, it is humbly acknowledged, as African scholar Isidore Okpewho reminds, that no approach, however complicated, will ever amount to a ‘total analysis’, which he calls phantasmic: ‘Human life is short, and it is rare for the same scholar to analyze a text with equal competence as a sociologist, as a historian, and as a literary scholar’ (Okpewho 1990, 122). In this vein, Werner Kelber’s disclaimer is equally—if not even more specifically—applicable: ‘In ordinary media life these modes of communication run together and manifest themselves in mutual reabsorptions as well as mutual deconstructions. The dynamics of *media interfaces* vary considerably, and as a rule are intellectually challenging to grasp’ (Kelber 2001, emphasis original). Cf. Thatcher 2000, 79–104.

to imaginatively create, such an object. This is borne out in the voluminous discussions in literary circles concerned with subtle evocations in general.³⁰ It is not my intention in this chapter to survey those arguments.³¹ Instead, in order to move beyond certain cruces that arise in these tAgora discussions and pave a pathway for my object, I will begin with an attempt to bring literary (i.e. tAgora) and oral (oAgora) poetics into dialogue with each other (3.2). More specifically, I will show that certain problems with covert references that arise and tend to paralyze research in literary discussions are resolved quite handily by the truisms of oral poetics. This demonstration will be followed by some brief comments about the problem of subjectivity (3.3) and 'touchstones' for establishing subtle evocations more objectively (3.4). I will conclude by outlining the approach adopted for the remaining chapters of this thesis (3.5).

3.2 Examination: Covert Associations in Literary and Oral Poetics

As touched upon in Chapter 1, one of the core issues in discussions about the NT's use of the OT concerns the nature and functioning of covert associations. In a scholarly environment where interpreters are to arrive at firm, scientifically verifiable, conclusions, there is a great deal of reservation in dealing with the consistently unverifiable shadows cast by subtle evocations. This reservation is, in many ways, understandable. What is not understandable is the frequently implied notion that subtle evocations, precisely because of their subtlety and hence less 'visible' presence on the 'surface' of texts, are necessarily less communicationally significant and/or authorially intended than overt associations. The fallacy of this presupposition can be exposed both from literary and oral perspectives. In order to wield something of a double-edged sword, I will first attempt to expose this fallacy by engaging the literary discussion on its own turf. This will set me up to view the problem from the perspective of oral poetics. What will be found is that, while critical issues may be addressed from a literary perspective, they all but dissolve when brought into the light of an oral poetics. An entirely new—and exciting—ground of discourse is brought into play.

30 For just a few examples, cf. the discussions and bibliographies in Hays 1989; Allison 1993; Daly-Denton 1999; Moyise 2008; 2000; 2009; Fisk 2001; Beetham 2008, vol. 96; Brunson 2003; McWhirter 2006; Hays 1989; Huizenga 2009; Ahearne-Kroll 2007; Stamps 2006; Jauhiainen 2005, vol. 199; Hepner 2001.

31 This has been competently accomplished several times, as can be observed in many of the studies just noted.

3.2.1 *Do You See What I See in This Text? Covert Associations in Literary Theories of Intertextuality*

In order to better understand how and why covert references are regarded with certain presuppositions in literary circles, it is necessary first to articulate what is commonly understood, at least in the modern world, to characterize 'literary' (i.e. written) texts. At its most general, a literary text of whatever sort may be characterized as a self-referential object that can be dealt with by readers synchronically.³² If, for example, the literary text in question happens to be a narrative, it will (stereotypically) be thought of as an object crafted by a (usually solitary) creative artist who, with the benefit of ample time to create, has been trained and is perhaps gifted at developing novel characters and events in uniquely textured settings. These characters, events, and settings are set in various implicit or explicit relationships to one another (i.e. emplotted) within the textual object in such a way that meaning is coherently denoted and conferred into the fabric of the text. As Foley explains:

In the modern literary work of art we place the highest priority on a writer's personal manipulation of original or inherited materials, rewarding the work that strikes out boldly in a new direction by providing a perspective uniquely its own, memorable because it is new, fresh, or, best of all, inimitable. In such a case the work is praised for the finesse with which an author . . . *confers* meaning on his or her creation.³³

Assuming a basic familiarity with the semiotic matrix and literary mechanisms used by the author to construct the text, a reader, simply by reading the text, will be able to understand the text's meaning in a way that more or less approximates the author's communicational intentions.³⁴ The fact that a text can be reproduced at the printing press in exactly the same form, with the same visual

32 See the comments in Kelber 2010, 136.

33 Foley 1991, 8.

34 This understanding of a literary text is powerfully illustrated and, indeed, promoted by the etymology of the word 'text'. 'Text' comes from the Latin 'textus', meaning 'fabric' and 'structure', and gives the sense of 'something that has been woven . . . the tangible product of craftsmanship' (Foley 2010, http://pathwaysproject.org/pathways/show/Ideology_of_the_Text). Viewing texts in this fashion, or indeed encountering modern texts that are written in this fashion, lead to the idea or reality that any reader, anywhere in the world, who simply has a sense of the language and culture in which the work has been written, can sit down in private and, in a few hours, experience the basic meaning of the text. The text provides its own 'total' encounter with meaning, precisely because it is a self-referential object wherein meaning has been conferred.

structure, potentially millions of times over, underscores this sense of a text's tightly woven and self-communicating craftsmanship. Indeed, the printed page 'creates the illusion that knowledge can be closed off in a world of its own, spatialized, linearized, objectified, definitively relegated to visual surfaces, and subject to diagrammatic, geometrical analyses'.³⁵

The capacity of biblical authors to achieve this kind of verbal art has been well demonstrated in Johannine studies by R. Alan Culpepper and Mark Stibbe, and in Hebrew Bible studies by Meir Sternberg, Adele Berlin, and Robert Alter.³⁶ The paradigm for reading from this literary perspective is to treat the literary work as a self-contained, intra-textually ordered world. Thus, maximal interpretation is reached not by probing into an author's potential extra-referentiality but by 'crucial attention to detail'.³⁷ In this view, verbal elements may be thought of as independent threads, each thread intentionally woven to produce a self-contained textual arabesque:

The choice of phrase, the choice of a single word, the nuance of difference in the seeming repetition, are everything. . . the fine adumbrations of motive, relationship, and theme through the minute management of verbal formulation . . . [betray] an exacting, subtly discriminating art.³⁸

This is not to say that literary works are not thought to be extra-referential. To be sure, literary works are thought to possess a powerful centrifugal dynamic, especially insofar as it concerns 'intertextuality'.³⁹ The key, however, is to understand that, in accord with notions of literary texts being highly self-referential and autonomous, intertextuality is predominantly understood as

35 Kelber 2001. So Foley: 'The fact of a material text, located in space instead of in the influx of time 'preserves and supports the twin illusions of object and stasis, two tAgora principles that help to prop up the ideology of the text. The act of constructing such a thing—even the default cultural conviction that such an idea-container **could** be constructed—"speaks volumes" about our pre-emptive and unexamined commitment to the book and page' (Foley 2010, http://pathwaysproject.org/pathways/show/Ideology_of_the_Text).

36 Culpepper 1983; Stibbe 1994; Alter 1981; Berlin 1983; Sternberg 1985.

37 Alter 1990, 48.

38 Alter 1990, 48. These sorts of readings are also well illustrated by the Dutch scholar J. P. Fokkelman. See, for example, Fokkelman 1993 and 2004.

39 This term has developed a wide range of meanings in various disciplines. For two helpful discussions on Julia Kristeva's original conception of the term and its subsequent (and oftentimes very different) usage within biblical studies in particular, see Alkier 2009a, 4–7; Huizenga 2009a, 43–74.

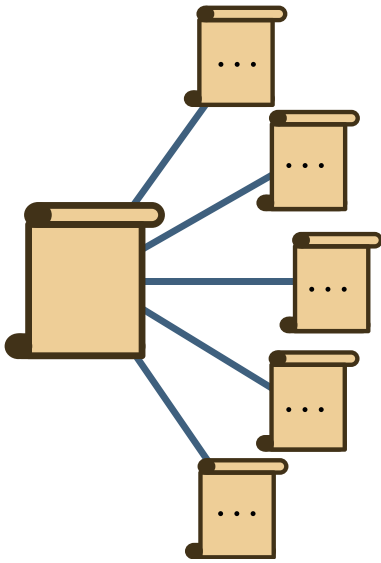
a 'text-to-text' phenomenon.⁴⁰ That is, intertextuality is said to exist when one textual object—a 'referring' text—is seen to strike some sort of one-to-one correspondence with a or several specific elements in the self-contained world of another (and usually only one) uniquely created textual object—the 'subtext'. In this way, the fabric of one unique text is envisaged to be tangibly interwoven with the materially discernible threads of another unique text.⁴¹ The image produced is of specific material chirographs that have specific words, sentences and passages striking one-to-one correspondences with other material chirographs, at least in the mind of the reader who has a mental picture of two texts, if she does not indeed have two texts physically present before her reading eyes.⁴² Thus, to represent this idea graphically, you have a referring text, on the left, and a—or any number of potentially—referred-to text(s), on the right (see Figure 1 on p. 75).

This highly material conception of intertextuality has had predictable effects within biblical studies. In the first place, quite plausibly because of the implicit emphasis on what one can 'see' transpiring between two tangible texts located somewhere in space, this notion of intertextuality has frequently led to a phenomenology of referencing focused on how 'visible'—which is to say, how 'verbal' and thus explicitly 'sign-posted'—are various references within evoking texts. This is well represented by Margaret Daly-Denton who charts 'quotations', 'allusions', and 'echoes' on a sliding scale of 'visibility' in relation to the textual 'surface'. Quotations are 'sign-posted' by a verbal formula and thus

40 As Ong observes in a more general way, 'The methods we deploy in biblical studies have instilled in us the idea of autonomous textual entities, which grew out of texts, linked up directly with other texts, and in turn generated new texts' (Ong 1995, 141).

41 That this highly material and visible conception of intertextuality has been enshrined in biblical studies is well represented by Steve Moyise. Moyise categorizes how the term intertextuality has come to be used in three separate, yet overlapping, senses within biblical studies over the last few decades. *Intertextual echo* refers simply to the presence of a subtext in a text and its immediate meaning-effect. *Dialogical intertextuality* refers more expansively to the process initiated by the subtext's presence, whereby the reader is alerted to the fact that 'text B should be understood in light of a broad interplay with text A, encompassing aspects of A beyond those explicitly echoed' (Moyise 2000, 25, quoting Hays's *Echoes*). *Postmodern intertextuality* refers most expansively to the complicating 'reader-response' reality that past reading will be determinative of a person's present reading, meaning that 'there is never *only* one way of interpreting a text' (Moyise 2000, 18). Aside from this last category, which is used more to identify the influence of subjective factors in reading (see 3.3 below), the critical aspect to note from the first two categories is the emphasis on intertextuality as a text-to-text phenomenon.

42 E.g., as with Harald Sahlin; see again pp. 7–8 above.

FIGURE 1 *Text-to-text referencing.*

'obvious', echoes may possess only 'a single word' and are 'subliminal', while thematic and structural echoes 'may not have any actual words in common with the source text'.⁴³ Thus:

High Visibility/Verbal Elements	Low Visibility/Verbal Elements
I--Quotations-----Allusive Language-----	Allusive Thought-----Allusive Structure--I

Not surprisingly, this phenomenology based on what is visible/verbal has also led to a hierarchization of references based on the same phenomenology. Namely, the more visible/ verbal the reference (i.e. left of the graph) the more one can assume that the reference in question is (a) communicationally significant and (b) authorially intended. Contrarily, the less visible/verbal (i.e. right of the graph) the less communicationally significant and authorially intended. Thus:

High Visibility/Verbal Elements	Low Visibility/Verbal Elements
<i>High Meaning-Effects &</i>	<i>Low or No Meaning-Effects &</i>
<i>Authorial Intention</i>	<i>Authorial Intention</i>
I--Quotations-----Allusive Language-----	Allusive Thought-----Allusive Structure--I

43 Daly-Denton 2000, 9.

Prior to showing how this hierarchy has surfaced in biblical studies, it is worthwhile explaining why it does not seem overly surprising. There appears to be an organic connection between the tAgora pre-understanding of literary texts being essentially self-referential objects that confer meaning and the hierarchy itself. The logic here seems pretty straightforward, and is almost entirely justified. For if it is assumed either in theory or practice that:

—a literary work worth its salt is the product of an author gifted and invested in an art-form that will confer meaning to readers within the visible fabric of the text-object,
 —then, when it comes to intertextual references, a lack of conferred meaning within text-object A (the referring text) when compared to text object B (the referred-to text)—which is to say, a lack of sufficiently visible and therefore sufficiently *given* meaning—may be taken as a lack of meaning or a lack of intent to meaning on the part of the author.

After all, an author who ‘means’ in a literary work makes his meaning clear, even if he means to be ambiguous: the ambiguity becomes a part of his conferred meaning.⁴⁴ But an intertextual reference that cannot be seen as interwoven with another tangible text is not well-conferred meaning. In other words, it does not conform to good (modern) literary poetics; therefore, it may (and perhaps must) be taken as (a) less meaningful/valid and/or (b) less intended than more explicit (i.e. visible) references. This is precisely what appears to have happened in biblical studies.

It is difficult to trace how these assumptions have developed in their particularity, but the seed of assumption (a) may perhaps be traced back to Hays’s influential *Echoes of Scripture* (1989). Hays’ explicitly equates visibility with volume in this work, without sufficiently qualifying what is meant by ‘volume’. An ‘echo’, says Hays, can be considered ‘louder’ when it consists of more verbal—and hence visible—elements on the surface of the text: ‘The volume of an echo is determined *primarily* by the degree of explicit repetition of words or syntactical patterns’.⁴⁵ It is not clear, however, whether Hays is talking about volume with reference to signalling or modifying amplitude, that is to say, with respect to the markers by which the reader comes to recognize the presence of the echo or the extent to which the reader is led to modify his understanding

44 As in a work, for example, that conveys the reality that ‘life is complex; our guilt animates our behaviour subconsciously’ by embedding this meaning within the characters and contours of the text, as with Kafka’s *The Trial*.

45 Hays 1989, 30, emphasis mine.

of the text as a result of the already-recognized echo. This is a critical distinction: Are we talking about the volume of an allusion's presenting signal or its modificational effects?

Whatever Hays meant by volume in this instance, the two senses have been taken as synonymous within biblical scholarship: an echo's modificational power within the text has been taken to be directly proportional to its presenting signal on the surface of the text, thereby leading interpreters to establish a 'rhetorical hierarchy of modes of reference'.⁴⁶ This hierarchy grants methodological privilege, *a priori*, to the most visible/verbal of references.⁴⁷ G. K. Beale represents this presupposition when he insists (in principle if not in practice⁴⁸) that an evocation that reproduces more verbal features will be considered a 'clear allusion', while allusions that have wording that 'is not as close' or are 'only generally similar' will be considered only 'probable' or 'possible'.⁴⁹ The key factor, again, is tied to what is visible: how many verbal elements are reproduced is, regardless of other possible factors, determinative of allusive 'validity'.⁵⁰

This same presupposition has been translated into the question of authorial intention. Once again, the less verbally constituted and thus immediately recognizable a reference, the less it is considered intended by the author. As Daly-Denton states, it is not only that types of references exist on a sliding scale of 'visibility', but also 'these three modes of reference to an existing text—quotation, allusion and echo—function on a "sliding scale" of diminishing intentionality on the part of the author and decreasing visibility on the surface of the text'.⁵¹ Quite understandably, the cumulative impact of

46 See Beetham 2008, 17–24.

47 That Hays does not himself give undue priority to verbal forms *in practice*, despite his emphasis on verballity, has been pointed out in Fisk 2001, 80 n. 89.

48 See the evaluation in Jauhiainen 2005, 199:20–1.

49 Beale 1999, 78.

50 As Jauhiainen observes, the problem with Beale's criteria for determining the probability of allusions 'is that he has tied in his criteria . . . with his classification of them. In other words, the nature of the allusion would always determine its probability' (Jauhiainen 2005, 21 n. 12).

51 Daly-Denton 2000, 9. Hays, relying on Hollander, concurs: 'It is in principle very difficult to distinguish between allusion and echo in these texts. The concept of allusion depends both on the notion of authorial intention and on the assumption that the reader will share with the author the requisite "portable library" to recognize the source of the allusion; the notion of echo, however, finesses such questions: "echo is a metaphor of, and for, alluding, and *does not depend on conscious intention*"' (Hays 1989, 29, quoting Hollander, *Figure of an Echo*, 64, emphasis mine).

these presuppositions has been a certain paralysis of research into the more subtle—including structural—types of associations within biblical studies.⁵²

There is good reason, however, to reject the visibility/verbality = significance/intentionality formula, as some literarily-minded scholars have already been doing. For example, the phrase, 'She was his Delilah' contains only one allusive word, yet it could serve to frame a person's entire rendering of a story about a man and a woman.⁵³ Or to present a rather simple example from the FG, the disciples' remembrance that 'It is written: "Zeal for your house will consume me"' (John 2:17) is an explicit, almost entirely verbatim, quotation of Psalm 69:9.⁵⁴ It reproduces a high degree of verbal features and clearly shows a visible interweaving of this subtext in a dialogically intertextual fashion, and is a meaningful use of scripture.⁵⁵ But as Johannine scholars have recently come to appreciate, the FE's gnomic description of Jesus' meeting the woman 'at a well' (4:6) is by no means any less meaningful and/or necessarily less authorially intended. It serves to stimulate a generative intertextual field of vision in the reader.⁵⁶

52 The reason for the paralysis is quite clear. If the less visible forms of reference are taken to have less *interpretive* volume as legitimate modes of reference, then these less visible forms are inevitably going to be perceived and treated as less important. In the same way, if the less visible forms are taken to be less intended by the author, then, given that most biblical scholars are concerned with authorial intention, the less visible forms will once again be perceived and treated as less significant. *That* the text meant and *what* it meant to an original audience is taken to be indispensable for what it still means today, especially for the interpreter within the Church who seeks to be confronted and challenged by it. Carsten Claussen represents this sentiment when he contends that, 'only when a biblical text is allowed to say what we do not already know will we be able to listen to its meaning anew and not just to our own preconceived ideas. For this reason, not only the life context of the exegete, but first and foremost the historical context of the text must be taken into account for its interpretation' (Claussen 2007, 38). Also Kevin Vanhoozer: 'If meaning were not in some sense 'there' in the text, how could texts ever challenge, inform, or transform their readers? How could texts ever criticize a dominant ideology?' (Vanhoozer 1998, 317). See also the incisive comments made by the philosopher Alvin Plantinga 1998, 26.

53 Jauhiainen 2005, 21 n. 12.

54 The quotation is an exact reproduction of the LXX text, except for the change from the aorist to future tense, ostensibly emphasizing Jesus' upcoming 'consumption' on the cross as opposed to a present consuming (Menken 1996, 37–40).

55 E.g., see comment in Menken 1996, 45.

56 This reference is comprised of mostly embedded, 'muted', and/or clustered links to a repetition of similar stories in the Hebrew Bible (that is, the type-scene <<man meets future bride at well>> e.g., Gen 24:11–67; 29:1–14; Exod 2:15–22). Thus, Jesus' interactions with the racially and morally disreputable woman may be conceptualized along nuptial and,

Clearly, a reference's verbal features cannot and should not, *a priori* and without clarification, be equated with volume/validity.⁵⁷ The same is manifestly true for authorial intention. Determining authorial intention is a profoundly difficult task,⁵⁸ and it is not clear on what basis, in principle, an author should be said to have intended certain references over others. It is in principle just as feasible for an author to have intended an oblique allusion or echo, such as in John 4:6, as an explicit citation, even if, in our desire to know, we will have to confess that the former type of reference may be harder for us to determine with the same degree of certainty.⁵⁹ Again, this is a critical distinction: are we talking about an author's intentions or about our ability to know an author's intentions?

Thus, although perhaps understandable from a tAgora perspective, the notion that a reference's visibility/verbality on the surface of a text will be proportionate to its (a) communicational import/validity and/or (b) authorial intention must be deemed indefensible from a literary perspective. From an oral perspective, these assumptions do not even register.

hence, revolutionary lines. Further, it evokes and intersects with a bridal motif embedded in Israel's scriptures as well as in the FG. As suggested, though, this reading has been overlooked or marginalized within Johannine commentaries until very recently. For example, compare Tenney 1948, 91–7; 1981, 9:53–6; Barrett 1955, 190–204; Schnackenburg 1968, 423–4; Bruce 1983, 101–16; Carson 1991, 214–33 versus Lincoln 2005, 170. It seems that until the appearance of Alter's *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (1981), which made the concept of type-scenes critically acceptable, scholars tended to presuppose and interpret details within the text as foremost historical, rather than symbolically or intertextually pregnant, signifiers. Alter's influence is attested in McWhirter's listing of scholars who *have* seen and written on John 4:4–42 as a betrothal type-scene: not a *single* reference is dated earlier than 1981; the earliest reference, in fact, is a year *after* Alter's *Art* was published. See McWhirter 2006, 7 n. 24.

57 To be clear, this is not to decry strong verbal allusions and their prominence at the surface level of a text; it is only to counter with Brawley the tendency to place undue weight on 'the phraseological plane and overlook reiteration on other levels' (Brawley, quoted in Fisk 2001, 79–80). Moyise concurs, 'Negatively, we should be on our guard against premature closure. In our search for the 'loudest' voice, we should not become deaf to the quieter voices that give the work its particular texture' (Moyise 2008, 140). 'It is not just the loudest instruments in the orchestra that give a piece its particular character. Sometimes, subtle allusions or echoes, especially if they are frequent and pervasive, can be more influential than explicit quotations' (Moyise 2000, 17).

58 'In particular, since the work of the three masters of suspicion (Marx, Freud and Nietzsche), it is doubtful that anyone is fully aware of the author's intentions or that a text can even be a perfect reproduction of them' (Moyise 2008, 3).

59 On this point, also see Jauhiainen 2005, 32.

3.2.2 *Do You Hear What I Hear in This Tradition? Covert Associations in Oral Theories of Intertextuality*

To state that words are heard and not seen in oral performance is to offer no more than a tautology. To state that the whole concept of a reference's 'visibility/verbal features' may be entirely impertinent to examinations of associations in oral-derived texts like the FG is to subvert the very tAgora intertextual edifice we have already been critiquing. It is also to enlarge exponentially the discussion of how an oral-derived work may be meaningfully and authorially 'intertextual'.

The aim of the present section is to accomplish this subversion and enlargement. For maximum effect, I will structure my discussion in accord with a highly focused review of the pioneering work of Milman Parry, Albert Lord, and, more recently, John Miles Foley. The value of 'oral-formulaic theory' for my study of the FG is in its comparative potential. The fundamental assumption of oral-formulaic theory is that 'the situation among the unlettered artists of today cannot be significantly different from what it was ages ago'.⁶⁰ Thus, general insights gleaned through fieldwork among 'living' oral cultures may be taken as axiomatic of how other oral societies composed and transmitted their works. In short, newer works can function as analogues for older,⁶¹ even if it must be confessed that 'analogy is never the same thing as proof' and must therefore 'always remain at the level of a heuristic'.⁶²

The seminal insights of ethnopoetic and ethnographic scholars like Dennis Tedlock and Dell Hymes are also critically important to the research of oral-derived texts. Since they deal mostly with paralinguistic and performance arena factors tied up with live performances, however, they must be treated by those dealing with ancient texts as of secondary importance.⁶³ Although I will

60 Okpewho 1977, 311.

61 See Foley 2005.

62 Foley 2005, 197. Akin to the comments made by Berlin regarding literary poetics (see n. 13 above), Foley insists that 'investigation by analogy will work best when we involve as large and diverse a selection of comparison as possible. . . . Only by surveying (at least to some degree) the vast horizon of modern oral epics, performed today on six of seven continents in hundreds of languages can we be confident that our analogy is suitably flexible and multifaceted' (Foley 2005, 197).

63 On this point see Tedlock 1977, 516. To state that this project is secondary, however, is not to dismiss its significance for examinations of oral-derived texts. As Tedlock suggests, several things may be done to begin restoring a sense of a text's original performance volume by the modern scholar: 'A restoration of the oral sense of either the Homeric or the Chinookan written literatures . . . requires comparison with poetry that can still be listened to, and that poetry must be listened to with an ear that is not bent solely on alphabetic reduction to familiar written forms. Further, restoration requires participation.

attend to the most salient insights of these fields of research as I proceed, my primary focus will be on the nature of the oral form and, especially, its inborn capacity for what Foley has identified as ‘traditional referentiality’. I will deal with these two intimately related concepts in turn.

3.2.2.1 Parry and Lord: The Oral Form⁶⁴

In the early 1930’s Milman Parry, associate professor at Harvard, along with Albert Lord, began observing the storytelling practices of an illiterate community among the (then) Yugoslavian peoples. Having already suspected that the formulaic language evident in Homeric epic was the result of oral influences, Parry’s goal ‘was to observe singers working in a thriving tradition of unlettered song and see how the form of their songs hangs upon their having to learn and practice their art without reading and writing.’⁶⁵ Parry’s hope was to apply this research backward to uncover Homer’s compositional method.⁶⁶ What Parry and Lord discovered was that the form of the songs in Yugoslavian epic had *everything* to do with how they were learned and composed. In fact, the forms—originally identified by Parry and Lord triadically as ‘formulaic language’, ‘themes’ (now often called ‘scenes’ or ‘type-scenes’⁶⁷), and ‘story-patterns’ (or tale-types)—were found to be the fundamental building blocks of these stories. Formulaic language was used to construct and adorn type-scenes, and type-scenes were interlinked to construct and adorn story-patterns. From beginning to end, then, these epics were seen to unfold (as Foley now puts it) as a system of traditional ‘integers’, each form being experienced and thought of as its own self-contained ‘word’,⁶⁸ whereby the smaller forms were

Before the Renaissance, to “read” or to “study” a text meant *pronouncing the words aloud*, and that is what philologists must now do with ancient and ethnological texts. When they translate, their work must be judged not on the basis of its acceptability as a silent written literature, but on the basis of how it sounds when read aloud, how it strikes ears that have been reeducated to the subtly and richness of the spoken word’ (Tedlock 1977, 516). A similar project is proposed, and has been executed for several years now in public performances with reference to the biblical texts, by David Rhoads. See Rhoads 2010.

64 For another biblical scholar who has attempted in some measure to apply Oral-Formulaic Theory to biblical texts, see Thatcher 2000, especially his comments on p. 73 n. 102.

65 Lord 1960, 3.

66 See Sasson 2005, 218.

67 See Foley 2005, 202.

68 ‘The grammars of “words” at various levels—the formulaic phraseology, the typical narrative scenes, and the story-pattern as a whole—are understood as highly focused, densely encoded systems of integers that open onto implicit and ever-impinging worlds of signification’ (Foley 1995a, 1:7). Cf. Foley 2005, 202.

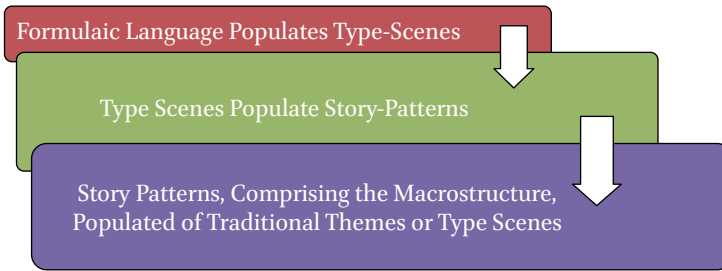


FIGURE 2 *Building blocks of traditional stories.*

seen to populate the larger. (The same has been found in other oral traditional societies.⁶⁹) Thus, put graphically, it was discovered that (see Figure 2 above).

Naturally, with this high and concatenating use of formulaic integers, the forms were easily learned. In the same way as a child learns to speak, Parry and Lord observed that new singers did not memorize the forms; they absorbed them by repeated exposure.⁷⁰ The interiorizing of these forms was also proven

69 Specifically reporting on African oral narrative traditions, Donald J. Cosentino states that ‘oral narratives . . . are constructed out of a repertoire of smaller plot units variously termed motifs, images, blocks, moves, gross constituent units—scholars do not concur on the terminology’ (Cosentino 1998, 174). Reporting more expansively on his research of vast cross-section of oral cultures, Foley says, ‘What the analogy from living oral epics suggests is that bards operate creatively within a set of compositional rules, just as any speaker of any language deploys a grammar and a lexicon idiolectally. Reports from central Asia, the Altay, India, and many other areas reflects the same interdependence of bard and tradition’ (Foley 2005, 204). Retrospective analysis of Homer has unearthed the same components, as Werner Kelber explains: ‘Deep reflection on Homer’s metered language discovered repetitious and formulaic patterns. Individual words, phrases, clauses and sometimes whole lines are repeated . . . In addition to formulaic regularity, one discovered considerable standardization of themes. The representation of battles, weddings, sieges, capture of cities, rescue missions, disguise and deception themes, etc. betray unmistakable narrative redundancy. . . Homer was not an original, but rather a traditional poet. And ‘traditional’ meant that Homer had recourse to preformulated, prefabricated building blocks as he relied on recurring patterns’ (Kelber 2001).

70 As Lord reported in his groundbreaking *The Singer of Tales*: ‘When we speak of language, our native language, we do not repeat words and phrases that we have memorized consciously, but the words and sentences that emerge from habitual usage. This is true of the singer of tales working in his specialized grammar. He does not “memorize” language. He learns them by hearing them in other singers’ songs, and by habitual usage they become part of his singing as well’ (Lord 1960, 36). Dennis Tedlock has observed the same in his own research among the American Indians: ‘For the most part, the narrators in primary

to be necessary. Yugoslavian singers were expected to compose spontaneously. The reason they could was not because Yugoslavia had a glut of virtuoso geniuses—in fact, '[m]ost singers were blind and beggars!'⁷¹—but precisely because they had thoroughly absorbed the traditional repertoire of formulaic integers: the stock phrases, scenes, and story-patterns.⁷²

Parry and Lord also discovered that, although rigorously preserved through time, once learned by new singers, the forms were not treated as fixed entities. Instead, singers who had absorbed a sense of these traditional forms, especially the more seasoned singers, felt entirely free to exercise an extraordinary degree of creativity in using them. Like jazz musicians, preset forms were used improvisationally. Like 'Rewritten Bible' texts, expansion, retraction, addition, analogical linking, and all around ornamentation of traditional forms was normative and, indeed, expected.⁷³ It was what made each singer unique and each song continually new, despite it being doggedly conventional in structure.⁷⁴

oral cultures do not . . . memorize stories, but *remember* them. They are not talking digital computers, programmed to retrieve stored formulas in the right order. The digital computer lacks what we call in English *the mind's eye*: a good narrator *sees* his story . . .' (Tedlock 1977, 507, emphasis original).

71 Lord 1960, 20.

72 See also the early insights of Alan Dundes, the folklorist and memory-studies scholar: 'On the basis of the evidence provided by mnemonic devices, one might say that if there is no structure, the folk creates one. If this is so, the study of folklore must include the careful delineation of such structure' (Dundes 1961, 146). Naturally, these sorts of insights have been applied backwards to Homer: 'This formulaic and thematic packaging of language [found in Homer] . . . was designed to appeal to mind and memory, and had come into existence under the pressures of oral compositioning and performance' (Kelber 2001).

73 On the creative reapplication of previous sources in RB texts, see again discussion in section 1.4 above. With reference to oral compositions, 'the changes' from one telling of a story to the next, reports Lord, 'fall into certain clear categories, of which the following emerge: (1) saying the same thing in fewer or more lines, because of singers' methods of line composition and of linking lines together, (2) expansion or ornamentation, adding of details or description (that may not be without significance), (3) changes of order in a sequence (this may arise from a different sense of balance on the part of the learner, or even from what might be called a chiasmic arrangement where a singer reverses the order given by the other), (4) addition of material not in a given text of the teacher, but found in texts of other singers in the district, (5) omission of material, and (6) substitution of one theme for another, in a story configuration held together by inner tensions' (Lord 1960, 123).

74 Lord 1960, 148. Lord illustrates this point by telling the story of a talented singer named Mimon who was invited to listen to a new song by another singer named Avdo. Avdo's song was comprised of traditional formulae, and extended to 176 lines. Mimon was immediately asked what he thought of the poem and replied that he thought it was good but

In line with this accent on tremendous freedom within traditional form, Parry and Lord observed a complete lack of concern for verbal equivalences. Formulaic language, themes, and story-patterns could strike verbal equivalences, and often did; but there was no expectation that this should or ought to be done. Synonyms could be substituted for various words in formulaic language;⁷⁵ type-scenes and tale-types permitted any range of verbal freedom.⁷⁶ The important element, in other words, was not the poet's ability to achieve word-for-word or syntactical correspondences but the structure of thought itself. In fact, if verballity in the forms was important at all, the important thing was *not* to reproduce them verbatim. Put otherwise, Parry and Lord discovered that creative freedom in the use of traditional forms was not only a fact: it was a fundamental value. To use the forms was necessary and good; to use the forms analogically instead of via word-for-word equivalence was to participate in this poetry at its best:

Although it may seem that the more important part of the singer's training is the learning of formulas from other singers, I believe that the really significant element in the process is rather the setting up of various patterns that make adjustment of phrase and creation of phrases by analogy possible. *This will be the whole basis of his art.*⁷⁷

he could do better. His instantaneous composition *was* better. Taking the basic forms, Mimon added his own personal creativity and touch, and, as he gathered momentum, 'the ornamentation and richness accumulated, and the human touches of character' were added. The poem was lengthened from 176 to 558 lines. Yet, it was the 'same' story (Lord 1960, 78–9).

- 75 'We immediately begin to see that the singer has not had to learn a large number of separate formulas. The commonest ones he uses set up a basic pattern, and once he has the basic pattern firmly in his grasp, he needs only to substitute another word for the key one. . . . There is some justification for saying indeed that the particular formula itself is important to the singer only up to the time when it has planted in his mind its basic mold. When this point is reached, the singer depends less and less on learning formulas and more and more on the process of substituting other words in the formula patterns' (Lord 1960, 36).
- 76 'There is nothing in the poet's experience . . . to give him any idea that a theme can be expressed in only one set of words. Those singers whom he has heard have never reproduced a theme in exactly the same words, and he has no feeling that to do so is necessary or even normal practice. The theme, even though it be verbal, is not any fixed set of words, but a grouping of ideas' (Lord 1960, 69).
- 77 Lord 1960, 37, emphasis mine.

The same basic value has been found operating in other oral societies researched to date.⁷⁸ Thus it may be taken as something of a truism that, in oral tradition, while the reuse of forms *could* be verbal, there is no expectation that they *should* be. A higher value is placed on ornamentation and analogical thinking.

It is important to underscore here that, despite this tremendous amount of verbal freedom in the transmission of oral lore, Lord recognized that verbal freedom does not amount to total freedom. The implicit rule, or habit, seems to be that, in terms of the stability and conservativeness of the tradition, the greater governs the lesser, the whole takes precedence over the parts. Thus, while a composer may play with details, and insert formulaic language at will to give the work its particular texture, the fundamental story—that is, the tale-type—would be substantially told and preserved inviolate, even if not told in precise sequential fashion (a point we will return to momentarily). Lord witnessed this reality with reference to ‘heroes’. Different heroes in Yugoslavian epic could be substituted for one another in the *same* stories. The conclusion was clear:

The fact that the same song occurs attached to different heroes would seem to indicate that the story is more important than the historical hero to which it is attached.⁷⁹

Foley has confirmed this insight with reference to the ‘Return Song’. The Return Song in Serbo-Croatian (former Yugoslavian) epic, a song for which hundreds of recordings exist, is told in a multiplicity of creative ways, with distinct themes and details surfacing in each. Yet a five-fold pattern of ‘Absence (*A*), Devastation (*D*), Return (*R*), Retribution (*Rt*), and Wedding (*W*)’ occurs

78 For example, Isidore Okpewho observes the same commitment to improvisation within traditional African communities: ‘As Babalola has noted of the ijala artists among the Yoruba: “Studied or spontaneous improvisation on traditional themes is what the ijala-changers regard as their individual contribution to the repertoire of ihala chants” (Okpewho 1977, 311). Anthropologist/oral historian Jan Vansina witnessed this reality in 1961 in his landmark study *Oral Tradition* (updated and expanded in 1985 under the title *Oral Tradition as History*): ‘Improvisation of an existing stock of images and forms is the hallmark of fictional narrative of all sorts. Such tales develop during performance. They never are invented from scratch, but develop as various bits of older tales are combined, sequences altered or improvised, descriptions of characters shifted, and settings placed in other locales’ (Vansina 1985, 12).

79 Lord 1960, 120: ‘... the *type* of hero is more significant than the *specific* hero.’ See p. 328 below for how this principle may pertain in its own way to John 12–19.

in each telling and, in fact, is shown to 'direct the narrative progress of all its variants, with the five-element schema underlying all superficial variations'.⁸⁰ In short, it also seems to be axiomatic of orally-situated literature that, notwithstanding high degrees of ornamentation and abstraction, 'the basic story is carefully preserved'.⁸¹ From a compositional standpoint, we are to envision the oral composer beginning with the 'stable skeleton of narrative' and continuing by adorning with flesh.⁸² We have already seen how this principle pertains to summaries of Israel's story.⁸³

This is not to say that the oral artist thinks and operates out of a strictly linear, A-to-B mindset. On the contrary, while the logic of a narrative will be maintained and indeed stands at the top of—what we might call—the **oral** hierarchy of forms, another rule or habit discovered by Lord is that the association of elements is frequently more important than those elements precise ordering. As Lord puts it:

Although the themes lead naturally from one to another... [theme] complexes are held together internally both by the logic of the narrative and by the consequent force of habitual association. . . . Habitual association of themes, however, need not be merely linear, that is to say b always follows theme a, and theme c always follows theme b. Sometimes the presence of the a in a song calls forth the presence of theme b somewhere in the song, but not necessarily in an a-b relationship.⁸⁴

Michael Nagler (1974), who studied the traditional phraseology of Homer, drew similar conclusions. His focus on Homer's type-scenes led him to the conclusion that familiar motifs tended to be as much organically constellated

80 Foley 1990, 363. This dynamic is also discernible, we may point out, in Israel's scriptures: new stories and heroes are structured around common story patterns. Besides the type-scenes identified by Alter, for example, several have observed how the 'myth of the dragon slaying' or 'victory-enthronement pattern'—equally evident in Canaanite and Mesopotamian texts—governs a range of very different stories in the Hebrew Bible. See, for example, Gage 1984, 19; Gunn 1990, 21; Niditch 1996, 21. Niditch, in particular, takes this kind of phenomenon as evidence 'that an oral aesthetic infuses Hebrew Scripture as it now stands' (Niditch 1996, 24).

81 Lord 1960, 123.

82 Lord 1960, 99.

83 See again pp. 54–57 above.

84 Lord 1960, 94–5. For the relevance of this principle to retellings of Israel's story see p. 318, esp. n. 128 below.

as horizontally sequenced.⁸⁵ Verbality was also once again shown to have little, if any, value. In fact, 'far from requiring any particular formulaic content or verbal correspondence... [Nagler] opens up the definition of the motif and typical scene to allow for the widest possible range of association'.⁸⁶ Lord's explanation for why ideas and motifs tend to cluster together in this fashion in oral societies is compelling:

Where the association is not linear, it seems to me that we are dealing with a force or "tension": that might be termed "submerged." ... We are apparently dealing here with a strong force that keeps certain themes together. ... The singer probably imbibes it intuitively at a very early stage of his career. It pervades his material and the tradition. He avoids violating the group of themes by omitting any of its members.⁸⁷

Lord illustrates this principle by noting a certain curiosity within the Yugoslavian and Homeric tradition. Intriguingly, stories about long-absent heroes invariably include an episode of deception and recognition, even though these episodes (or stories-within-stories) are not immediately pertinent to the logic of the narratives in question. The only explanation for this curiosity, says Lord, is in the habitual association of elements derived from the tradition: 'Some force keeps these elements together. I call it a "tension of essences"'.⁸⁸ Thus, when investigating the possibility that a work has been built on traditional oral forms, 'this hidden tension of essences must be taken into consideration'.⁸⁹

85 As Foley summarizes: 'In concert with his view of Homeric phraseology as both traditional and spontaneous—that is, as generated from traditional habits of thought and articulation to suit the needs of the moment—Nagler understands the typical scene not as a fixed sequence of words or ideas but as "an inherited preverbal Gestalt for the spontaneous generation of a 'family' of meaningful details." As to the matter of ideational structure or diction shared among instances of such a unit, he argues that "in practice... not only are no two passages normally the same *verbatim*, they need not be of a pattern (an identical sequence of elements) in order to be recognized as the same motif"' (Foley 1990, 243).

86 Foley 1990, 243.

87 Lord 1960, 97–8.

88 Lord 1960, 97.

89 Lord 1960, 98. This 'tension of essences' may explain the constellation of themes and language in John 1:1–18 and John 3. See discussions on pp. 122, 124, 218, 313, and 317 below.

3.2.2.2 Foley: Traditional Referentiality

For Lord and Parry, oral singers use oral forms because the forms are both traditional (and therefore habitual and inherently conservative) and mnemonic (and therefore compositionally useful). For Foley, oral singers also use oral forms because the singers themselves are artists, and the forms themselves are referentially explosive (and therefore rhetorically useful). Foley's research is extensive, oscillating between modern and ancient works, but his logic throughout is straightforward. An oral form, like Homer's phrase 'life-producing earth', might be used in performance hundreds of times and would thus be linked to hundreds of different contexts.⁹⁰ Accordingly, such a phrase, rooted not in 'one form' but a traditional 'multiform' would not only be easily absorbed by audiences and would-be storytellers; the phrase itself would be absorbent. Like burs to Velcro, each successive instance in which the phrase was used would leave its mark on the phrase, adding to its associative value.⁹¹ Consequently, a performer's usage of a phrase like 'life-producing earth' would be referentially totalizing and inclusive to those within the tradition, summoning not just one 'text' or 'performance' but an aggregate of all the occurrences and associated meanings in which the phrase has been used. In this way, it would be fundamentally 'metonymic' (a part that represents the whole), and participate, as Foley says, in a form of 'metonymic referencing'. Thus the performer who chooses to use traditional forms elects to participate in an economically potent form of *pars pro toto* referentiality, or 'word-power':

Traditional elements reach out of the immediate instance in which they appear to the fecund totality of the entire tradition, defined synchronically and diachronically, and they bear meanings as wide and deep as the tradition they encode. . . . Traditional referentiality, then, entails the invoking of a context that is enormously larger and more echoic than the text or work itself, that brings lifeblood of generations of poems and performances to the individual performance or text. Each element in the phraseology or narrative thematics stands not simply for that singular instance but for the plurality and multiformity that are beyond the reach of textualization.⁹²

⁹⁰ Cf. Horsley and Draper 1999, 160–1.

⁹¹ As Lord understood: 'Each theme, small or large—one might even say, each formula—has around it an aura of meaning which has been put there by all the contexts in which it has occurred in the past. It is the meaning that has been given it by the tradition in its creativeness' (Lord 1960, 148).

⁹² Foley 1991, 7. This kind of referentiality, Foley notes, may be understood in kind with the functioning of language more generally: 'Oral epic language is conventional in idiom as

The image produced here is not of a text-to-text and one-to-one correspondence between two texts, but of a text-to-tradition (or performance-to-tradition) and one-to-“one-thousand” correspondence between an allusive text and an entire tradition. Thus, returning to the ‘lamb of God’ reference in John 1:29,⁹³ we may envision a summative and inclusive reach, whereby the FE’s use of the integer ‘lamb’ extends not to one but all uses of this image in the tradition—a fraction of which may be captured in surviving texts:

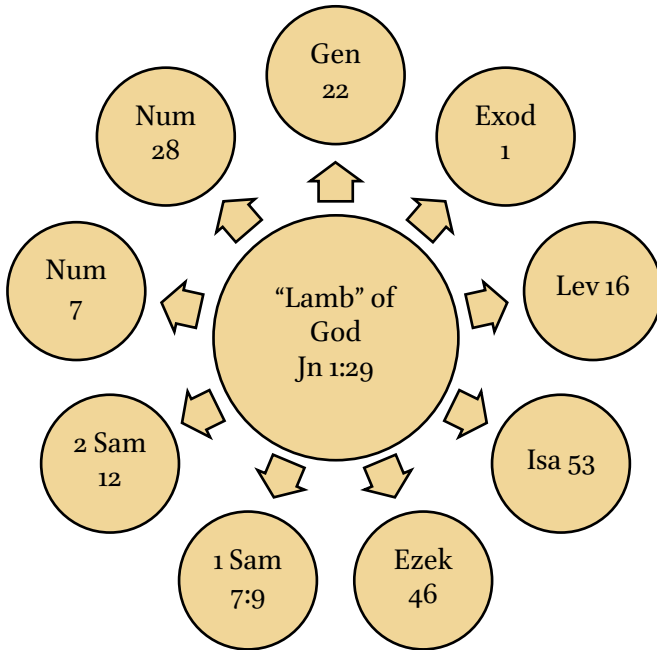


FIGURE 3 *Text-to-tradition referencing.*

Admittedly, this poly-directional and totalizing referentiality may make it seem that the meaning of a traditional reference such as ‘lamb’ in any one work will be, and must be, indeterminate. But this is not so. As Foley explains, although frequently used in radically different contexts, traditional integers—precisely because they are traditional—already share and generate a ‘common’ meaning.

well as structure; at every level, both its systematic morphology and its connotative power are simply special cases of the general theorem of human language. As I have suggested elsewhere by formulating a pseudo-proverb (2002:127–8), “Oral tradition works like language, only more so” (Foley 2005, 203).

93 See again discussion beginning on p. 26 above.

This meaning is inherent within the tradition, not specific texts, even though these integers may find expression in texts.

If traditional phraseology and narrative are conventional in structure, then they must also be conventional in their modes of generating meaning. That is, at least part of the answer to the question of “how” these elements function is “in the same way each time”.⁹⁴

One of the easiest places to detect this is with reference to specific characters in traditional lore. For example, the character Mustajbeg is featured hundreds of times within various tales in Serbo-Croatian epic. ‘Mustajbeg lives’, as Foley observes,

not as an original creation in this or that specific situation, nor even as a generic character simply imported from one situation to another, but as a fully formed, multidimensional actor in a composite drama much larger and more involved than any single scene.⁹⁵

Specifically, Mustajbeg lives within the tradition as a scheming, two-faced and therefore unpredictable character: one never knows what he is going to do. Thus, simply by mentioning Mustajbeg, a composer can command this inherent meaning, summoning an entire and associatively rich field of reference into his work.⁹⁶ One of the traits that makes Homer so powerful, according to Foley, is precisely his capacity to summon this sort of metonymic meaning: ‘A major part of Homer’s eloquence is that he is the grand conveyor of inherent meaning, the master rhetorician whose figures of anaphora have larger-than-textual fields of reference’.⁹⁷ The key to gaining a sense of these inherent

94 Foley 1991, 7.

95 Foley 1991, 19.

96 Contrarily, adds Foley, ‘were a literary poet’ with his conferring art ‘to wish to create such ambivalence in a character’, he would have to ‘employ a battery of adjectives such as “scheming,” two-faced,” or “wily,” or he might resort to a brief tale-within-a tale to illustrate the desired trait’ (Foley 1991, 18). It will be suggested below that there is some reason to believe that the ‘Logos’ itself, as well as figures like Joshua and David, carried a metonymic capacity or ‘fully-formed’ inherent meaning as characters within Jewish tradition in the first century. See p. 164 and p. 328 below.

97 Foley 1991, 24. A modern day—and highly palpable—example of a metonymy of character is especially discernible in long-running American television sitcoms. *Seinfeld* fans, for example, know the character of Kramer and all the peculiar actions and features with which he has been uniquely associated: his explosive entrances through front doors, his electrified hair, his outlandish, zany, and bohemian behaviour. For *Seinfeld*

meanings for the modern reader, insists Foley, is to examine as many instances of the integer as possible.⁹⁸ Looking, for example, at three very different instances in which the phrase 'life-producing earth' is used in Homer,⁹⁹ Foley observes a kernel of common meaning:

[O]nce the situation-specific parameters are subtracted, a common basis is apparent: *all three episodes share a fundamental concern with a mysterious duality of life and death*. . . . All scenes memorialize moments of great uncertainty and wonder, as the conventional categories of life and death—of existence and nonexistence—prove insufficient to the given situation.¹⁰⁰

A look at an aggregate of biblical texts in which the figure of a 'lamb' is mentioned produces a similar kernel or complex of associated meanings. On the whole, a lamb in the biblical tradition is envisioned as an innocent, vulnerable creature that, for various reasons, is frequently subject to death/sacrifice.¹⁰¹ It might be concluded that the FE's use of 'lamb' in John 1:29, which has no clearly referred-to subtext, may be intended to participate in this globalized meaning. If so, the way to envision the phrase would be as part of a rich multiform (see Figure 4).

It may be noticed that, insofar as my pursuit of a scriptural tale is concerned, this text-to-traditional-multiform method of looking at intertextual associations appears to be as equally paralyzing as a text-to-text method of analysis. After all, if the FE has embedded a scriptural tale in the FG, but his referential language is aggregative rather than atomizing (suggestive of all texts rather than just one), whereby meaning is distilled from an abstracted multiform, then how can a figure like 'lamb of God' be identified as referring

fans, a composer can elicit all these ideas and expectations in a new episode simply by having Kramer—or an imitator—blast in through the front door. The part—the explosive entrance—stands in for the whole—every previous explosive entrance and all the character attributes of Kramer that have by the repetitive nature of the tradition been associated with it.

98 So, for example, the key for the outsider to gaining a feel for the metonymic integer that is 'Kramer' or the 'Kramer-esque', and how it functions within the *Seinfeld* 'tradition', is to watch as many *Seinfeld* episodes as one can get one's hands on. Cf. Lord 1960, 148.

99 Namely, one with reference to Helen's loss of her brother (*Iliad* 3), one 'with reference to Kastor and Pulydeukes "caught forever in a cycle of life and death"' (*Odyssey* 11.298–304), and a third with reference to Lemnos captured and sold into slavery by Achilles (*Iliad* 21).

100 Foley 1991, 251, emphasis original.

101 See the similar distillation under 'lamb' in DBI, 484.

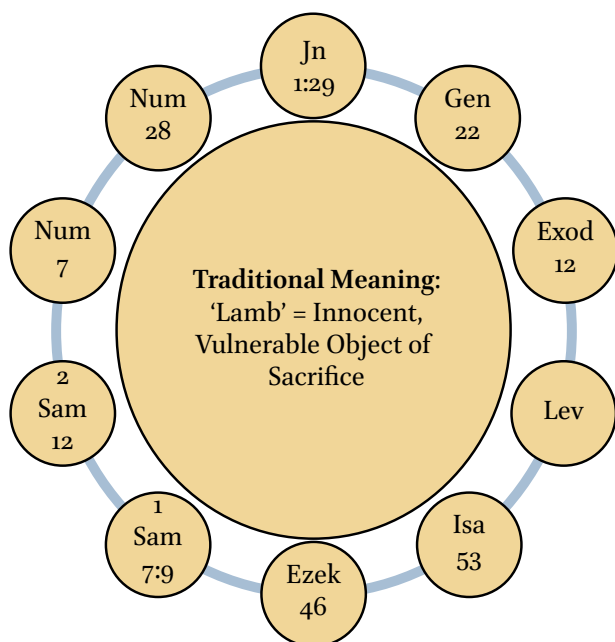


FIGURE 4 *Aggregative references.*

to Isaac's lamb, as we may think it does in a special way, and thus complement and build upon the alleged scriptural tale? The problem is the same as the one we stumbled upon in Chapter 1 from a tAgora perspective.¹⁰²

The answer to this question from an oAgora perspective is found in the insistence of Foley and other ethno-poeticians that it is not just the smaller integers, such as formulaic language, that are metonymic. On the contrary, type-scenes and story-patterns—not to mention every conceivable level of signification that might be found in a speech or text (such as verse, verset, line, couplet, half scene, scene, act, book)—have been found to be every bit as metonymically referential as stock characters and formulaic language. As Foley avers, 'Pars pro toto logic extends from the macrostructure of the tale as a whole to the microstructure of its smallest parts'.¹⁰³ Even more importantly, just as the story-pattern stands atop the hierarchy of oral forms, as already explained, so does the metonymic story-type stand atop the hierarchy for the navigation of referential meaning. The reason for this is fairly obvious: metonymic referencing is a form of supersonic communication, whereby the fullness of what is meant dwarfs the reality of what is actually said; the author's

¹⁰² See again p. 25 above.

¹⁰³ Foley 1991, 13.

communicational intentions enter the audience's mind prior to the author's actual communication. When a composer evokes an entire story-pattern in the mind of his audience at the beginning of his composition, he telepathically communicates the template through which the meaning of his smaller formulaic language, types scenes, and ornamentations may be—and indeed naturally will be—filtered and understood. As Foley explains:

[S]tory patterns can also enable reception by providing a large-scale “map” to complement the finer, inset details of formulas and themes. If we are prepared to decode the signals that constitute this aspect of the oral-derived, performance-derived register, we may be able to confer a deeply traditional kind of unity on the work being read—not by concentrating on the articulation of parts in this given text, but by relating its succession of events to an untextualized paradigm that we know from the sum of its other instances.¹⁰⁴

So, for example, in the Serbo-Croatian tradition, a composer who opens a tale with an episode centering either directly or analogically on the absence of a hero (A), or even perhaps a devastation (D) that leads to an absence (A), succeeds in summoning up and creating the expectation of the outworking of the entire five-fold pattern of the classic Return Song (Absence [A], Devastation [D], Return [R], Retribution [Rt], Wedding [W]). This story-pattern, then, functions as the work's inherent interpretive servomechanism,¹⁰⁵ automating the traditional audience's reception of the finer content.¹⁰⁶ This is no doubt why Donald Cosentino suggests that giving students of African oral tradition an awareness of traditional structures must come first in the educational process:

104 Foley 1995a, 1:92. Or again: ‘Structure and tectonics are full partners in this special tale-telling idiom... they set the program, constitute the palette, demarcate the cognitive categories with which the individual poet then manages meaning and art’ (Foley 1995a, 1:7). Gadamer is also relevant here when he asserts that ‘A person who is trying to understand a text is always projecting. He projects a meaning for the text with particular expectations in regard to a certain meaning’ (Gadamer 1975, 269).

105 ‘A mechanism in which a controlled motion is produced... *esp.* one in which feedback is employed to make the control automatic...’ (*Oxford English Dictionary*, ‘servomechanism’).

106 As Foley puts it, ‘Hearing the echoes of other Return Songs will enrich and direct reception of *The Captivity of Djulic Ibrahim* or the *Odyssey*... Immanent art prescribes a sensitivity to signals at all levels of structure, under the programmatic commitment to interpret all structural integers as metonymic in mode of signification, and story pattern will prove no exception’ (Foley 1995a, 1:92).

Complex patterns of repetition, which reiterate the same theme in various keys and move protagonists along . . . are templates that structure the whole of African oral tradition. These templates should be located and described before the variations that create myths, epics, and folktales are analyzed.¹⁰⁷

Returning to the image of a lamb in John 1:29, assuming that the up-to seven-stage pattern discussed in Chapter 2 was known by the FE's audience(s),¹⁰⁸ and assuming that I can show this story-pattern's presence in the FG, then, from an oral poetic standpoint, this language of 'lamb' may be taken both generally, in terms of the meaning dictated by the tradition as a whole, and specifically, in terms of where it is placed within the larger story-patterning of the FG. If used in the section where the FE is rehearsing the larger story-pattern of an 'establishment of a people', for example, as I will argue he does, this formulaic integer may well be intended to summon specific memories of the Akedah.¹⁰⁹

Enough has been said to show how an oAgora poetic both subverts and enlarges the most common tAgora notions of intertextuality.

3.2.2.3 Subversion

It has been shown that whereas a premium tends to be placed in literary approaches to intertextuality on how visible, understood as verbal, a reference may be, the premium in oral composition, which is inherently referential, is placed on analogical re-presentation and ornamentation of rhetorical forms rather than verbatim replication. Likewise, in literary poetics, the hierarchy of modes of reference favours the most atomistic of forms, those cameo quotations and allusions that are once again most verbal. But in oral poetics

107 Cosentino 1998, 182.

108 See again pp. 54–57 above.

109 Intriguingly, recapitulating structures within single stories in order to convey thick meanings is the bread and butter of Northern Native American oral narrative art. Listeners in these environments are thus implicitly trained to listen for the layered meanings created by repeating structures: 'Many mythic narratives have a double structure . . . The same story sequence will be told twice, not always in parts of equal length but usually in a way that uses one part to reflect on the other' (Toelken 1998, 160). For example, 'In the first part of the Kathlamet Chinook "Sun's Myth," the main character desires to travel, travels to his goal, arrives and responds to the situation, then settles down. In the second half, he goes through the same sequence, except that instead of being outward bound he is homebound; instead of attaining riches, he destroys villages; instead of settling in a large, opulent house with a new mate, he settles in a small house and is entirely alone. The ironic contrast, brought about . . . is stunning' (Toelken 1998, 160).

the hierarchy of modes of reference favours the least atomistic, those all-encompassing intaglio story-patterns which are by necessity also the least verbal of references. As Foley explains:

As the unit under consideration becomes larger and more comprehensive, the possibility of a regular, repeating verbal component lessens. Or, to put the same matter differently . . . the larger, more comprehensive units must be more and more abstract in order to fulfill their function of templates for greater and greater multiformity.¹¹⁰

Thus, when approaching an oral-derived work, the amount of verbal features in a potential reference must not be taken to mean anything *a priori* about how communicationally significant or valid that reference may be. The same is true of authorial intention, for whereas a literary scholar may be accustomed to asking, 'Did the author consciously intend to use such non-verbal forms?', an oral scholar—especially with reference to the traditional story-pattern—is accustomed to asking, 'What specifically non-verbal form did the author (in this instance) consciously intend to use?'¹¹¹

It may be objected that there is an insuperable difference between the usage—and thus expectation—of oral forms in traditional works (in the terms we have been discussing them) and the idea of a scriptural tale in the FG. The difference is one of continuity, for whereas oral traditional communities hitherto discussed use story-patterns for telling the same stories in a continuous stream, albeit creatively supplemented, analogized, and ornamented, the FE is not simply attempting to retell Israel's story. To be sure, whatever the FE is doing, it is not simply retelling a traditional tale according to a traditional tale-telling idiom: the FE is doing something entirely new in relation to the person and work of Jesus, and is doing so in the vein not of a raconteur but of a historian—or, at least, someone who claims to have something vital to say about history. The question, therefore, coincides with what Foley judges to be 'one of the most puzzling questions raised by the analogy of modern-day oral epic . . . that is, of whether bards and traditions are capable of generating performed works outside their usual constellations of subjects, events,

110 Foley 1990, 241–2.

111 There may be a critical difference, therefore, between the scholar who presumes to be interpreting a purely literary (i.e. modernly conceived) as opposed to oral-derived work. For the former, intertextual references are, fundamentally, *ornamentation* (however meaningful), used to endow the scaffolding of the work with a particular texture. For the latter, references are, essentially, *fundamental*, used as the scaffolding for the work around which particular ornamentation may then be added for texturing purposes.

and characters'.¹¹² Or more pointedly, can a 'tradition, whose strength is usually perceived as adherence to a stock set of stories via a recurrent tale-telling idiom, also license and yield something unprecedented?'¹¹³

The answer provided by Foley after surveying a quartet of examples from a spectrum of idiomorphically distinct traditions, is essentially the same as the answer offered by social memory theorists with reference to the idea of narrative schemes: the unknown is characteristically explained in terms of the known in mnemonically-dependent communities.¹¹⁴ Thus, not only is it possible for tradents of collective memory to put new flesh on old skeletons; it is their manifest proclivity.¹¹⁵ Old patterns die hard, even when new events arise. Moreover, old patterns are eminently useful in that they can vivify new events, provoking virtual worlds of matured thought and understanding with extreme elliptical (and participant-enticing) brevity.¹¹⁶

Furthermore, it must be remembered that, as Kelber stresses with reference to the apostle Paul, most texts in antiquity were 'mentally composed' and then dictated to a scribe.¹¹⁷ This begs the question of how such mental composition was—and could be—accomplished. In short, the answer is that composers adopted conventional structures that matched their purposes, which could then be adorned with 'flesh'. Consequently, interpreters dealing with oral or oral-derived works must be attentive to the possibility of these consistently

112 Foley 2005, 205.

113 Foley 2005, 205.

114 See section 2.2.1 above.

115 Foley 2005, 205–6, 211.

116 See the excellent essay on the 'Aesthetics of an Allusion' in Irwin 2002, wherein Irwin argues that among a host of other functions, allusions invite participation and serve to build communities of shared understanding.

117 'It requires a strenuous act of historical imagination to remember that the Paul of the first century did not write but dictate his letters, that all his writings, including the most intricate theological argumentations in Galatians and Romans, were mentally composed, and that large segments of his arguments are structured in keeping with the conventions of Hellenistic-Jewish rhetoric' (Kelber 2001). The same point is made by Karel van der Toorn in his extensive study on ANE scribal culture: 'First, among modern writers we can distinguish those who conceive their text while writing from those who write only once they have their text in mind. The former category has increased since the introduction of the electronic word processor. In antiquity, authors normally composed their text before they wrote it down. . . . On the whole, scribes were trained to produce stock phrases from memory and compose their text before they committed it to papyrus. The scroll served as a repository of a completed text. The composition of a text normally preceded its fixation in writing' (Van Der Toorn 2007, 21–2).

non-verbal and/or supra-verbal forms of referentiality—even if the story being told is being presented as something entirely ‘new’.

3.2.2.4 Enlargement

When compared to common tAgora notions of intertextuality, an appreciation for an oral poetics will enlarge and/or broaden the following:

1. *The textual base consulted and method used in attempting to decipher the meaning of specific references.* As we have seen, the predetermined approach in tAgora circles is to determine how a referencing text interacts with a sufficiently signalled and therefore sufficiently activated subtext. Within oAgora circles, not just one material text but the whole ‘immaterial’ tradition in which a potential integer occurs (or as many available textually fossilized remnants of the tradition) must be surveyed to understand the meaning of that integer.¹¹⁸

118 As Nancy Mason Bradbury explains with clarity: ‘A literary allusion recalls a specific written source and makes use of the source text’s network of meanings, its cultural prestige, and perhaps its unique verbal aptness. These effects rely on a sharp distinction between the alluding text and the text to which it alludes. The formula differs from the literary allusion in that an audience experiences a formula not in relation to a specific earlier text from which it is wholly distinct but in relation to the multiform tradition of which it is a part. . . . The point is not for the audience to recall the particular place in which it last heard the formula but for the audience to use its familiarity with the tradition to grasp the formula’s supranarrative meaning, accumulated in the course of many occurrences’ (Bradbury 1998, 138–9).

It may be worthwhile to point out here that, despite a textual ideology, several more literarily-minded scholars are also gravitating toward this more totalizing kind of interpretation of references. This is well represented by Leroy Huizinga in his contribution to the collection of essays in *Reading the Bible Intertextually* (2009). As Huizinga observes, ‘the semiotic matrix within which the New Testament writers lived and moved and had their being was not merely scripture *qua* scripture, but rather the entire cultural encyclopedia of early Judaism in all its diversity within which Old Testament Scripture was interpreted’ (Huizinga 2009b, 61). Thus, in considering Matthew’s possible allusions to the Akedah, Huizinga insists that ‘precise verbal allusions to Genesis 22 may produce echoes of Genesis 22 as *interpreted in early Judaism*’ (Huizinga 2009b, 65, emphasis original). Although highly in favour of Hays’s work, Huizinga criticizes Hays’s *Echoes* on this point: ‘Hays’s approach does not fully consider the possibility that an allusion to an Old Testament text could be an allusion to a radical interpretation thereof’. Likewise, in a paper prepared for the annual meeting of SBL 2010, Bruce Fisk underscores that ‘Paul, all agree, did not invoke Scripture in a hermeneutical vacuum: the *Scripture* Paul knew, and to which he frequently appealed, was always *Scripture*-interpreted. . . . Sharp distinctions

2. *The interpreter's expectation to find references at all levels of textual signification.* Despite Daly-Denton's rather broad (yet apposite) designation of intertextual references as including various elements of language, thought, and structure,¹¹⁹ the most common tAgora notions of intertextuality are of quotations, allusions, and echoes thought of as quite narrow, corpuscular units of reference. The discovery of the concept of the oral form, not only by Parry, Lord and Foley, but by an increasing range of ethnoepoeticians, has exposed the expansive character of metonymic integers. Within the songs and story-telling practices of oral-traditional societies metonymic integers have not only been found within the formulaic language, type-scenes and story-patterns, as in Serbo-Croatian tradition; they have also been found in what literates might (for better or worse) describe with the aid of literary categories (simply because no other categories exist) according to their appearance at every level of the textual surface.¹²⁰ As Hymes has concluded from his research among the Chinookan peoples of Oregon and Washington, metonymic integers can exist at all levels of the unwritten 'text', including the 'line, versible, verse, stanza, scene, act, and part/episode'.¹²¹ In the interpretation of traditional works, each of these units must be treated and explored 'as meaning-bearing, rhetorical signals in their own right'.¹²² This is not to say that every society will share exactly the same integers. To the contrary, there is a great deal of variety (ethnoepoetic diversity) among distinct cultural groups—a fact that must be held in reverence.¹²³ Nonetheless, the basic categories identified by Parry and Lord are consistent in all oral-traditional story-telling communities researched to date, modern and ancient: the formulaic language, type-scenes, and story-patterns.¹²⁴

between Paul's text and its interpretation, then, may be anachronistic and historically naïve' (Fisk 2010, 2). See also Alkier 2009b, 233. In principle, then, this suggests that the modern day researcher should pay attention to the broader traditions and matrices within which particular figures and allusions were present and interpreted whether approaching alleged allusions or associations from a literary or oral perspective.

119 Daly-Denton 2000, 9.

120 See Foley 1995a, 1:17–22.

121 See Foley 1995a, 1:21.

122 Foley 1995a, 1:21.

123 See Foley 2002, 95–108.

124 As stated by Mina Skafte Jensen: 'There are many variations from one tradition to another in the way songs are presented... but [performances are] everywhere characterized by repeated phrases, parallelisms, adding style, types scenes, and patterned narrative' (Jensen 2005, 47). Foley notes: 'Modern-day oral epics also illustrate how patterned and idiomatic their specialized languages are, and how their structure and implications provide a ready frame of reference for every epic performance. "Words" of various sizes—as

3. *The interpreter's expectation to find associations between references at all levels of textual signification.* In a tAgora approach, a reference may be seen to participate in a form of dialogical intertextuality, whereby the unspoken elements of the subtext are seen to show up in associated elements of the referring text (a.k.a. 'metalepsis'). References may also be comprised of fused or combined texts.¹²⁵ In an oAgora approach, referential integers may especially occur in association with other integers not because the author is versatile with a multiplicity of texts he has in mind or before him, but because of these references' association and/or 'habitual association' within the tradition.¹²⁶ It is not that all associated ideas will occur or must occur in the referring text and occur in linear fashion, for there is no telling ahead of time how one creative artist's mind might branch out and find salient connections in the tradition. But the interpreter may be aware of these possibilities, seek out the connections, and plausibly claim that rich associations evident both in the tradition and in the text in question are no coincidence.

4. *The degree to which smaller metonymic integers (e.g., formulaic language) are interpreted in light of larger metonymic integers (e.g., type-scenes, story-patterns).* In a tAgora approach, an author may quote or allude to several texts for a wide variety of rhetorical or ideological purposes; it is not typically assumed, however, that the author's references will be inherently (as opposed to literarily) related to one another. Alternatively, in an oAgora approach, the hierarchy of modes of reference moves from the biggest to the smallest integers. The author begins by selecting a framework, the macrostructural story-pattern, and then successively populates that story-pattern with habitually associated type-scenes and formulaic language.¹²⁷ Smaller integers may be interpreted with deference to the larger, as I demonstrated with the referentially-significant language of 'lamb' in the FG.

5. *The interpreter's conception of 'repeating' references.* If the meaning of the smallest integers in a traditional text are influenced by their placement

small as a phrase and as large as an entire narrative—stand *pars pro toto*, the part for the whole, invoking idiomatic meaning with great expressive economy' (Foley 2005, 211).

125 See p. 28 above.

126 For example, within the biblical tradition, the idea of wind/spirit, present in multiple contexts (e.g. Gen 1; Exod 14; Ezek 37), may elicit the ideas/themes/stories of dry land, new beginnings, salvation, victory over enemies, establishment of holy residences, return from exile, exodus, the new age, and the like.

127 As Lord attests from his own experience: 'The beginner works out laboriously the themes of his first song. I know, because I have tried the experiment myself. Even as one is learning to build lines, one thinks through the story scene by scene, or theme by theme . . . This is the framework on which the singer will build' (Lord 1960, 71).

within larger integers within the work, one must not think of the ‘repetition’ of similar references in the course of composition as necessarily related to each other and/or invested with the same referential meaning. As Foley explains, in an oral-traditional register

the linear aspect of the text has only limited importance . . . since whatever has a beginning, middle, and end in itself also has a larger identity vis-à-vis the poetic tradition. Traditional elements can no more “repeat themselves” than the multiform surface of a traditional tale can be frozen into a uniquely authoritative form. Each element in the idiom, comprising as it does a cognitive category whose meaning lies chiefly in what it connotes, can occur—bringing with it all of the referentiality accorded by tradition—and then, later on, it may occur again. But the primary relationship of these occurrences will be to the metonymic meaning each summons, not to each other. Instead of “repetition” the oral traditional text implies re-creation, and it is this mode of signification the reader is asked to share.¹²⁸

The recurrence of ‘lamb’ as verbatim repetition (1:29 and 1:36) and thematic parallel (19:36) in the FG may be seen to evoke three distinct referential ideas in Jewish tradition at different places within the narrative. This is not to say that this *must* be the case, but only that the interpreter of an oral-derived text must be *open* to this broader possibility. One may be in the presence of re-creation, not repetition.

6. *The interpreter’s expectation to find meaning-laden associations and meaning-laden number patterns working en rapport.* Literary scholars have long observed the use of numerical patterns in ancient texts, although these patterns have been mostly perceived as serving mnemonic and structural purposes. As far as I am aware, there is no expectation in tAgora circles that

128 Foley 1991, 57. This is true, Foley stresses, even when we are dealing with an oral-derived text: ‘Even when, in oral-derived and transitional texts, we are presented with mixed signals for the decoding of textual structures—with some oral traditional and some quite literary responses called for—it will be a mistake to level this hybrid character to the smooth surface of denotative, post-traditional, purely textual signification. Their surface morphology notwithstanding, oral traditional structures have enormous and consistently realized referentiality, all aspects of which are available to the poet and the audience, who together create the work of art’ (57–8). This concept is intimately related to Foley’s broader insistence on what he calls the ‘rhetorical persistence of oral forms’, whereby oral traditional forms persist even into more literary texts ‘because they continue to encode an immanent context, a referential background that deepens and complicates whatever more particular events occupy the foreground of a given work’ (Foley 1995a, 1:82).

intertextual references will be organized according to numerical schemes that may be themselves metonymically significant. One of the critical discoveries about the storytelling practices of oral societies, however, is that in addition to consistently being used for mnemonic and structural purposes, meaning-laden number patterns are also frequently used to meaningfully frame—and hence doubly encode—all forms of metonymic integers: language, scenes, and story-patterns. Indeed the use of numbers and number patterns can carry a certain metonymic referencing of their own. Naturally, given that the FG appears predisposed to use numbers in meaningful ways, and not least of all structurally (as many Johannine scholars have observed), this is a critical insight for our study: it may help us to unearth and expose the contours of a story-pattern in the FG. In short, the FE may have ‘packaged’ a story-pattern within a number-pattern. Consequently, support for and extended discussion of the nature and use of number patterns in oral traditions generally and Jewish tradition specifically, as well as an argument for the FE’s overarching use of a referentially meaningful number pattern, will be delayed until Chapter 6 when I begin examining the FG’s macrostructure in earnest.

7. *The interpreter’s estimation of the degree to which traditional audiences might hear, or be enabled to hear, both literary and oral types of intertextual references operating in new works.* It may be assumed that in a complex media text like the FG there will be two types of intertextual associations directed at two types of target audience: readers (mostly comprised of the elite) and hearers (comprised of literate and illiterate alike).¹²⁹ It may also be assumed that, insofar as these two target audiences are capable of ‘hearing’ intertextual associations, the reader will outflank the listener, especially when it comes to literary (i.e. text-to-text) forms of referencing. The nexus of this assumption, as Kelber states, is ‘that readers confronted with texts find

129 The assumption is likely a judicious one when applied to the FG. The likelihood, as established in Chapter 2, is that the FE’s intended audience was indeed *predominantly* aural. But this judgment is not intended to exclude the possibility that the FG was also constructed with an eye toward an educated elite. A dispute with the synagogue might point to such an audience. The FG’s sophisticated literary constitution, including deft use of paradox, irony, and other rhetorical devices, as Jonathan Draper has recently proposed, may also point in this direction (in an essay delivered at SBL San Francisco, 2011 in the *John, Jesus, and History Section/John, Jesus and History Group* on the theme ‘The Fourth Gospel in First-Century Media Culture’). The author responsible for the eventual intercalation of the *Pericopae Adulterae* (7:53–8:11) is at least one example of a highly literate, intratextually and intertextually aware reader of the FG (see Keith 2011). As I will also propose in Chapter 7, this reader may also have placed the *Pericope Adulterae* where he did because of an awareness of the FG’s story-patterning.

themselves in a hermeneutical situation quite different from that of hearers of words.¹³⁰

This assumption certainly has some merit. Gleaning insights from cognitive and neurophysiological studies, Cynthia Edenburg concludes that intertextual associations available to readers will not be equally available to listeners. In brief, ‘hearing’ different types of intertextual associations require different cognitive processes; some of these processes can occur in aural environments, but others require contemplation and a close reading of texts. For example, while a reader has the time and ability to compare one text against another (provided they are available) in order to discover complex forms of literary patterning (‘parallel accounts’), a listener neither has the time nor the ability. Instead, listeners must process information quickly in short term or ‘working’ memory as a text is performed. In conjunction with retrieval from long term memory, intertextual associations must be recognized and processed very quickly—within ten to twenty seconds. This means that, for listeners, intertextual associations will: (a) be highly familiar and (b) not require the recall and identification of specific passages in order to complete the connection. Put otherwise, the types of intertextual associations available in oral contexts will be easily triggered by authors/performers and recognized by listeners. Intertextual associations that meet these criteria, according to Edenburg’s typology, are motifs,¹³¹ formulaic language,¹³² type scenes,¹³³ genres,¹³⁴ and a limited amount of allusions and marked quotations.¹³⁵

Given the parameters set out by Edenburg, these conclusions are sound. The problem is that Edenburg’s view is almost exclusively focused on cognitive science and fails to appreciate factors tied to ancient methods of composition and the settings in which they were performed—perhaps more than once.¹³⁶

130 Kelber 1990, 86. This is true in part, because, as Tom Thatcher helpfully summarizes, ‘writing objectifies language by fixing words in stable form and thus opens new possibilities for interpretation and abstraction’ (Thatcher 2008, 7).

131 A ‘single image or theme that can be represented by a short phrase or a single idea’ (Edenburg 2010, 138).

132 ‘Phraseology repeatedly employed according to conventional rules in specific contexts’ (Edenburg 2010, 139).

133 A ‘combination of motifs within a set sequence’ (Edenburg 2010, 140).

134 ‘Conventional structures fixed by literary tradition’ (Edenburg 2010, 141).

135 More ‘extensive allusions’ for example, those ‘extending to several, and adjacent clauses, would be difficult to formulate or comprehend without perusing a text fixed in writing’ (Edenburg 2010, 145).

136 For the view that the FG would have been performed and heard ‘over and again . . . for the *n*th time’ to ‘those of longstanding within the Johannine community’, and for transformational purposes, see Griffith-Jones 2013, 277.

A full appreciation for these factors will suggest a policy of much greater openness when considering ‘who could have heard what’ in ancient contexts, regardless of whether associations were of a text-to-text or text-to-tradition phenomena. There are several reasons to believe, in fact, that the listener hearing and participating within a live performance in a traditional arena may have been in as good or an even better position to hear evocations as a reader reading privately at a desk.

The fundamental insight here, confirmed by ancient historians and ethno-poeticians alike, is that texts and their performances in oral environments were frequently constructed, delivered, and digested in highly dynamic, interactive, and communicationally encoded performance arenas. These arenas would have facilitated the hearing—and/or learning—of intertextual associations of all kinds. Within most communities, for example, performances were staged in highly intimate, interactive settings—around fires, kitchen tables, public houses, meeting rooms, and the like. Tedlock has reported on the centrality of participation in the midst of performances in these places. In his fieldwork among the Quiche Zunis of New Mexico, Tedlock learned that Zunis are impatient ‘with nonparticipation’. In the course of one performance a performer ‘suddenly turned to [Tedlock] and said, “When I tell a story, do you see it, or do you just write it down?”’.¹³⁷ His participation was expected and, indeed, demanded. The same has been reported by Allan Burns who has studied the Yucatec Maya.¹³⁸ Similar interactions within ancient synagogues can be extrapolated on the basis of NT evidence.¹³⁹ Even at much bigger venues in the Greco-Roman world of antiquity, there was occasion and expectation for audiences to interact with performers and even ply them for repetition. In his work on *Actors and Icons of the Ancient Theatre* (2010), Eric Csapo relays an incident where a subtle allusion is not only caught by an audience but instigates an effusive response:

¹³⁷ Tedlock 1977, 515.

¹³⁸ ‘Allan Burns was pulled into participation by the fact that storytelling there involves not only the familiar roles of narrator and audience but a third role, that of *respondent*. . . the respondent must follow almost every line of the story with an affirmation. He may also correct slips of tongue or guess what word comes next when the narrator hesitates, and if he knows the story well enough, a rapid antiphonal narration may develop’ (Tedlock 1977, 516). Abdul-Rasheed Na-Allah is unequivocal when he ‘contends that African oral forms cannot be adequately interpreted from the swinging armchairs of academic offices or the chalkboards in university classrooms. Rather, interpretation and understanding can occur only through direct participation in the oral performance’ (Na-Allah 1997, 125).

¹³⁹ See, for example, Matt 12:9–13; Luke 4:16–29; 6:6–11; Acts 13:14–49; 14:1–3.

The actor Diphilus delivered the lines “to our misfortune art thou Great” in such a way as to allude to Pompey (“the Great”), against whom popular sentiment ran so high, says Cicero, that the audience demanded its repetition “a thousand times”.¹⁴⁰

Wayne Meeks has demonstrated that close-knit home group ‘cells’ were the basic unit of the early church. These cells were in many ways similar to Roman ‘households’, voluntary ‘associations’, philosophical or rhetorical ‘schools’, and Jewish synagogue communities.¹⁴¹ Of itself, this makes it hard to imagine that the arrival and performance of a document like the FG, which must have been viewed as something of a narrative manifesto for the church, would not be followed by robust and illuminating engagement with the author/lector/performer and discussion within the ‘school-like’ community. In this respect, Ben Witherington has argued that such knowledge on the part of performers/lectors would have been the norm: simply on the basis of the nature of manuscripts, devoid of punctuation and a division between words as they were, one must deduce that ‘only someone skilled in reading such seamless prose, and indeed one who *already knew* the contents of the document’ would be sent to perform it.¹⁴² It is hard to imagine that a discussion of the document’s contents, including associations with scripture—the central site of the community’s collective memory, and current site of contest with (fellow) Jews—would not have ensued in these settings.¹⁴³

It is not simply participation in the context of performance that increases the likelihood of an audience member’s ability to hear intertextual associations. What preceded formal performances in ancient communal contexts is also significant. Sean Alexander Gurd has recently argued that, beyond merely expecting audience participation in the course of or in response to performances, it was not unusual for authors in antiquity to seek audience participation in the construction of performances, and to do so for the purpose of community formation.¹⁴⁴ ‘Pliny the Younger’s normal revision process’, says

140 Csapo 2010, 191.

141 Meeks 2003, 74–84.

142 Witherington 2010, 3, emphasis original. He continues: ‘From what we can tell, Paul expected one of his co-workers such as Timothy or Titus, or Phoebe to go and orally deliver the contents of the document in a rhetorically effective manner’ (Witherington 2010, 3).

143 On this point, see the argument for this sort of interaction, at least in Pauline communities, in Meeks 2003, 146.

144 This point has also been made recently by Tom Thatcher (though without reference to Gurd’s work) at SBL 2011, San Francisco in a paper delivered entitled “The Message in

Gurd, 'was multisteped and collaborative'.¹⁴⁵ After revising an initial draft, Pliny (ca. 61–112 CE) would read it to two or three friends, revise it again, perform it to a larger audience, revise it again on the basis of their responses, and then send it off for further critique.¹⁴⁶

It might be rejoined that there is a vast difference between the practices of literati like Pliny and his interlocutors and the figures affiliated with the FG. This may be true. The problem is that we simply do not know who was the target audience—or audiences (does there need to be only one?)—of the FE. The fact that the FG was clearly designed for the purpose of witness, and presented as the testimony of the author and community together,¹⁴⁷ suggests some sort of collaborative effort in construction, and/or at least nuanced instruction in the nature of its contents to the community. One of the reasons for this is that, as Ong has observed, in still largely oral cultures witnesses who could attest to the contents of documents were expected to accompany the documents in order to defend them: 'Witnesses were *prima facie* more credible than texts because they could be challenged and made to defend their statements, whereas texts could not'.¹⁴⁸

Even if this was not the case, and the audiences of the FG were not explicitly instructed or involved in the construction of its content, the communicative power of the performance environment itself must still be taken into account. Several features of live performance once again increase the likelihood that participants would be able to hear—or enabled to hear—intertextual associations of all sorts.

Students of the ethnography of performance, for example, speak of paralinguistic factors tied to performance, metacommunicative factors like voice,

the Medium of the Johannine Literature: An Introduction to *The Fourth Gospel in First-Century Media Culture*. The 'reader', Thatcher noted, 'may be physically present to the author at the moment of composition, and can actively influence the composition or reading' (handout, p. 3). See Thatcher 2011c.

145 Gurd 2011, 105.

146 Quoting Pliny, who is addressing himself in a letter to his friend Terentius Scaurus: 'Planning to recite a little speech that I'm thinking about making public, I summoned enough people to make me nervous, but few enough to be sure to hear the truth. For I have two reasons for reciting: first, that I might pay attention more anxiously, and second, that I might be alerted to anything I might have missed. I got what I wanted; I found those who enriched me with their counsel, and in the meantime I myself noted certain things that needed fixing. I revised the book, which I send to you' (Gurd 2011, 114).

147 See, e.g., the first person plural in 1:14; 3:11; 20:24.

148 Ong 1982, 96, emphasis original. He adds, 'this, it will be recalled, was exactly one of Plato's objections to writing'.

quality, intonation, volume control, body language, meaningful body movements ('standing up, pacing, bowing the head, mimetic gestures'¹⁴⁹) and especially dramatic pauses. Tedlock, in particular, has argued that signal pauses during performances among the Chinookan peoples of Oregon and Washington signal discrete referential integers at various levels of the story being performed.¹⁵⁰

Foley has brought attention to the reality of performance 'registers', where performers 'speak not in the unmarked idiom of everyday discourse, or in a standard textual variety of the language, but rather in a dedicated register whose sole reason for existence is to serve as the vehicle of performance'.¹⁵¹ The register adopted in any one context may signal a specified universe of meaning and/or way of decoding meaning, as with satire—which says precisely what it does not mean.¹⁵² In traditional contexts, traditional registers may implicitly signal the use of traditional integers. The FE's allusive and explicit use of scripture may certainly have signalled this sort of referentiality.

The performance arena, moreover, has been found to be highly significant in the communication of supra-verbal meaning. A man who stands up before an audience in a comedy club, for example, will not be expected to offer a eulogy; a woman with a white collar who stands at a graveside will not be expected to crack jokes. In like fashion, what if the FG was performed in arenas traditionally identified for the learning and discussing of Israel's sacred traditions? Or what if the FG was performed in the presence of scriptural scrolls,¹⁵³ or

149 Bauman and Braid 1998.

150 See Foley 1995a, 1:29.

151 Foley 1995a, 1:210.

152 Naturally, to miss the register is to miss the meaning (or at least the full meaning) of the verbal act. Foley illustrates this in comedic fashion with reference to the Zuni character 'Pelt Kid' who consistently takes literally what, in the traditional register, is meant to be taken figuratively, and who thus continually botches his 'reading' and 'responding' to social situations, especially those concerned with the euphemisms concerning sexuality and finding a mate. The same kind of 'misreading' is practiced by modern interpreters, insists Foley, who fail to acknowledge traditional performance registers: 'From the ethno-poetic perspective . . . Pelt Kid's transgressions can be seen as analogous to failing to discover the line, versicle, verse, stanza, scene, act, and part that provide the cognitive, "literary" grid for the composition and reception of a given work' (Foley 1991, 32).

153 'Once written texts began to proliferate in societies theretofore unacquainted with writing, those texts did not efface (immediately or inevitably) their established oral traditions'. Rather, 'oral discourse . . . began to function within a universe of communications governed by texts. On many occasions actual texts were not present, but people often thought or behaved as if they were. Texts thereby emerged as a reference system both for

even, as in Eastern Orthodox churches today, amidst icons, mosaics, or frescoes depicting aspects of the scriptural drama? Short of proving anything, asking these sorts of questions again suggests a policy of considerably larger openness than is customary when considering 'who could have heard what' in ancient contexts.

3.2.3 *Outlining a Syncretic Method*

Thus far in this chapter, I have drawn attention to the complex media environment of the first century CE and, in particular, to the differing modes of oral and literary forms of referencing. I have shown that whereas literary poetics typically views the range of references found in texts with respect to their relationship to other material texts, oral poetics typically views references with respect to their repeated uses in a traditional repertoire. The meaning of a reference in the first instance becomes available to the interpreter by knowledge and/or comparison of available texts. The meaning of a reference in the second instance becomes available by knowledge of and/or saturation in particular traditions.

However, in a mixed media environment like that proposed for the first century CE, which is typified by the perichoretic dance of oral and textual modes of referencing, the picture is more complicated. Specifically, interpretation of references must be sensitive to both poetic modes of referencing *as well as to any spectrum of their possible combinations and/or assimilations*. In practice, therefore, the modern interpreter's task of determining what form of referencing is actually taking place—and how to demonstrate it in any given instance—can be exceedingly difficult. Several challenges come into view.

In the first place, the modern interpreter is immediately confronted with one of the central paradoxes of interpreting media rich, highly referential works in ancient contexts (what Foley calls 'voices from the past').¹⁵⁴ Namely, given that there is no way to gain access to the multifaceted oral/aural environment in which compositions were conceived and took shape, surviving material texts must be used to make conjectures about traditional backgrounds. This method arouses the unavoidable—but nagging—cognitive dissonance: the interpreter is constrained to appeal to material texts to judge what kind of oral traditions might have stood behind these texts and to venture judgments about when these material texts themselves were—and were not—plausibly being used. It is akin to wading in water to assess what parts of the waterfront

everyday activities and for giving shape to many larger vehicles of explanation' (Rodríguez 2009, 162, quoting Stock 1983: 4).

154 See Foley 2002, 39, 45–50.

were dry two millennia before! This does not, of course, discredit the exercise completely (because, again, the poetics of the composition will nonetheless bear the stamp(s) of its media culture), but simply acknowledges one of the challenges inherent in applying a syncretic poetics to ancient compositions: one must swim to find the dry parts.¹⁵⁵

In the second instance, scholars evaluating textual manifestations of ‘voices from the past’ have outlined an extraordinary ‘spectrum of possible scenarios’ in the way texts and oral influences may have contributed to the composition, performance, and reception of the enduring textualized product.¹⁵⁶ This spectrum of scenarios will be no less diverse when it comes to the question of associations and how an author might have come to include them in his work. This can make it very difficult to assess, with any certainty, how certain associations came to be, whether by textual, traditional, or (likely in many instances) a combination of textual-and-traditional processes. It is painfully difficult to tell, for example, whether John 1:51 is specifically dependent upon, and thus specifically referring to, the *text* of Genesis 28:12, or whether it more flexibly intersects with popularized Jacob *traditions* (that themselves may or may not also be cognizant of one or several possible texts).¹⁵⁷ The phrase ‘ascending and descending’ in context unambiguously and exclusively signals *neither* a text *nor* a traditional repertoire *nor* any combination thereof. *That* it refers to the Jacob-at-Bethel story is fairly clear; what specific interaction of texts and/

155 For a similar assessment of the ‘disturbing paradox’ facing the modern interpreter, see Rafael Rodríguez’ *Structuring Early Christian Memory: Jesus in Tradition, Performance and Text* (LNTS [JSNT] 407. London: T&T Clark, 2010): ‘Gospel scholarship increasingly recognizes a disturbing paradox at its center: on the one hand, the field is *text-based*, and we intuitively perceive literary-critical tools (source, form, and redaction criticism) as appropriate for the tasks of reconstruction and interpretation. On the other hand, scholars increasingly recognize *oral performative contexts*, including all the vagaries associated therewith, as important factors in *how* the gospel texts evoked their meanings for original audiences’ (3; also see Rodríguez’ comments on pp. 96, 105–6, 110–11).

156 See Foley 2002, 49. Le Donne and Thatcher state, ‘Rather than describing the traditioning process in terms of ‘transmitting’, ‘writing’, ‘revising’ and/or ‘copying’ fixed texts, oral-traditional culture is better characterized as a complex matrix of communicative influences upon multiple trajectories of recollections of the past—recollections of both the actual past and of past discussions/commemorations of those events’ (Le Donne and Thatcher, 2011, 2).

157 The questions accumulate: If he was using a text in any sense, would the FE have had a scroll in front of him or be citing it from memory? Would he have originally read it or heard it read? Would it have been retold verbatim or creatively? And, given different answers to these questions, what difference would this make?

or traditions fueled its presence in John 1:51 seems beyond determination.¹⁵⁸ This is not to say, of course, that some covert associations in the FG will not lend themselves to more positive media determinations than others (and it is entirely fair to suspect the use of specific texts in some instances and not in others).¹⁵⁹ It is simply to acknowledge that, from the modern interpreter's limited vantage point, the FE's own method(s) of, and/or sources for, referencing will be frequently beyond recovery.¹⁶⁰

In light of these difficulties, the value of employing a syncretic poetic method in the following chapters of this thesis must finally be judged not in terms of what it definitively closes in on but in terms of what it opens up. This is to say that, although texts must be used and appealed to in what follows, and although there will frequently be a good deal of uncertainty as to what the FE's own media sources and methods of referencing were, the simple awareness that the FE was rooted in an environment that was home to *both* oral *and* textual medias vastly enlarges, as I have shown above, the *way in which* the FE could have embedded and/or 'packaged' meaningful evocations of all kinds in the FG.

In sum, therefore, the fundamental value of a syncretic poetics for this study will be in its ability to suggest and legitimize a wider range of interpretive possibilities.¹⁶¹ This will be seen, for example, in my argument for the immanent context and story-patterning of the prologue, wherein (to cite just one example) I will argue that the FE appears to be interacting with Genesis 1–3

158 For extended examples of the complexity inherent in making these determinations, and the frequent likelihood of traditional underpinnings even when texts are (or seem to be) in view, see the many excellent discussions in Rodriguez 2010—as for example on pp. 107–10, 128–34, 141, and 158–63 [a particularly important and illuminating discussion with reference to Jesus' 'reading' the scroll of Isaiah 'according to custom' in Luke 4:16–17]].

159 As, for example, with structural associations that evince a preponderance of sequential and verbal links with specific texts. Although even here things are not always entirely clear. E.g., see our discussion of David in the FG in 7.2 below.

160 '[L]abelling our gospels as "voices from the past" requires scholars to acknowledge a level of agnosticism vis-à-vis our texts (their compositions, performance and reception) that we have hitherto been unwilling to accept. Despite our incessant quest for answers, 'so many of the facts surrounding the history of performances and traditions are lost to us'; thus, 'we must be willing to accept some blind spots in our knowledge of these works as we try to "hear" oral poetries exclusively through the texts they have left behind' (Rodriguez 2010, 105, quoting Foley 2002, 47).

161 Again, a similar methodological conclusion is reached by Rodriguez. Cf., Rodriguez 2010, 26.

as *traditionally interpreted and understood in Second Temple Judaism*. The value of a distinctively syncretic poetics will also be made apparent, to offer another example, in Chapter 6 of this study, wherein attention to the common and covert usage of numbers and number patterns for structural purposes in distinctively oral traditional societies will add substantial support for the notion of a similar orally-influenced numeric structuring (and packaging of a story-pattern) in the FG.

In conclusion, although it will be impossible in what follows to make confident assertions about sources (and a chastened agnosticism must therefore frequently prevail), awareness of the mixed media culture is appropriate and will significantly aid the primary task of this thesis, which is to attempt to show that—*whether from traditional or textual sources, or both*—the story of Israel is plausibly recapitulated in the FE's story of Jesus, first in the prologue and then in expanded form in the body of the Gospel.

3.3 **Complication: The Problem of Subjectivity**

As is well known, it is often exceedingly difficult to determine when subtle evocations are authentically being 'heard', even when maximally competent readers or recipients are posited. Are certain associations heard because of a recipient's over-active ability to hear, or because of the author's ability to evoke, or because of the author's unconscious processes, or simply because the author is linguistically bound to use the treasury of language most available to him? Are some purported associations actually only idiomatic phrases intended to dispense common meanings?¹⁶² It is difficult to know, and even harder to prove. A reader/listener's own lexicon, memory, attention, competence, or tendentiousness may drastically effect their proper 'hearing' of a text.¹⁶³ The project is yet again complicated by the 'ubiquity of resemblance'. As David Decosimo has remarked, the human mind is highly associative, and therefore inherently capable of apperceiving resemblances between any two things because of at least one similarity between them.¹⁶⁴ For example, although light and dark are antipodal, one might point out that they are both tasteless. The example is absurd, of course, but it makes the point that resemblances *are* ubiquitous. So how might we gain confidence that we are on the right track in unearthing a scriptural tale in the FG, and not just 'hearing things'?

162 Although, on this problem, cf. again n. 92 in the present chapter above.

163 Cf. Iser 1978, 118; Eco 1979, 7; Sternberg 1985, 188; Vanhoozer 1998, 148–9; Solso 1996, 110–22.

164 Decosimo 2010.

3.4 Resolution: Objective Touchstones in a Subjective Minefield

The almost embarrassing but in many ways most complete and epistemologically honest answer to the problem of subjectivity in dealing with covert associations lies in the evaluation of whether or not the evocation in question makes sense. This is to say, it corresponds to what we know by way of the *sensus communis*, the faculty of 'common sense'. This may sound epistemologically feeble, but it is not. As Gadamer explains while summarizing Vico, the *sensus communis* 'does not only mean that general faculty in all men but the *sense that founds community*'.¹⁶⁵ By this he means that 'what gives human will its direction', and its faculty of judgment in issues of truth, 'is not the abstract universality of reason but the concrete universality represented by the community of a group, a nation, or the whole human race'.¹⁶⁶ In practice, that which makes 'common sense' is that which is taken '... "sensu plenus"'¹⁶⁷ (in its full sense), which is to say, in the context of everything else that one knows to be communally and contextually 'true'. The touchstone of common sense, then, by which artistic claims are judged as legitimate or arbitrary interpretations, derives its metaphysical capacity in

what people in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries liked to call "intuition" ... that is, the structure of living, organic being in which the whole is in each individual: "The whole of life has its center in the heart, which by means of common sense *grasps countless things all at the same time*" (Praef).¹⁶⁸

When it comes to written texts and their potential associations, therefore, an alleged association may be considered plausible when it can be seen not to jar but jive with the 'countless things' that may be known about the author, audience, background, and the many (literary and oral) poetic elements of the text itself. One touchstone of objectivity will be a sense of *Prägnanz*—the experience of an interpretation that is 'pregnant with meaning'.¹⁶⁹ As Sternberg has determined in dealing with the art of Hebrew poetics, hypotheses that will be most persuasive will

¹⁶⁵ Gadamer 1975, 19, emphasis mine. See, also, Thiselton 1997, 321.

¹⁶⁶ Gadamer 1975, 19.

¹⁶⁷ Gadamer 1975, 26.

¹⁶⁸ Gadamer 1975, 26, emphasis mine. Plato said likewise: 'The lowest form of thinking is the bare recognition of the object. The highest, the comprehensive intuition of the man who sees all things as part of a system' (in Solso 1996, 231).

¹⁶⁹ Solso 1996, 96.

offer the simplest and most probable explanation for the coexistence and unfolding of the different givens of the text: it [will] create maximal relevance among the diverse features and levels . . . and bring together more elements than the alternative hypothesis.¹⁷⁰

Significantly, this conclusion corresponds to the notion, as many scholars interested in allusions and echoes are now noting, that explorations into the intertextual nature of texts, not to mention literary analysis more generally, is more of an art than a science. Hays, in addition to ascribing to a “‘common sense’ hermeneutics’, points to the criteria of ‘satisfaction’ as being ‘finally the most important test’.¹⁷¹ Wright avows that ‘there is no such thing as ‘neutral’ or ‘objective’ proof; only the claim that the story we are now telling about the world [or text under consideration] as a whole makes sense, in its outline and detail, than other potential or actual stories that may be on offer’.¹⁷² Moyise, at the conclusion of his incisive study on the use of the OT in the NT, judges that ‘evoking Scripture is a complex business. . . . This complexity is best served

170 Sternberg 1985, 187. Wright concurs: ‘Simplicity of outline, elegance in handling the details within it, the inclusion of all parts of the story, and ability of the story to make sense beyond its immediate subject-matter: these are what count’ (Wright 1989, 42). Put negatively, an illegitimately formed object will be ‘one launched and sustained by the reader’s subjective concerns (or dictated by more general preconceptions) rather than by the text’s own norms and directives. A case in point is the readings to which the rabbis subject biblical stories. The hypotheses they frame are often based on assumptions that have no relevance to the world of the Bible (e.g., that Jacob and Esau went to school), receive no support whatever from the textual details, or even fill in what the narrative itself rules out. Where there’s a will, the midrash will always find a way’ (Sternberg 1985, 188). Or, again, as Eco puts it inimitably, there is a way of reading which in the last analysis enacts a sort of violence to the *sensus communis* of the text itself: ‘It is possible to be stupid enough to read Kafka’s *Trial* as a trivial criminal novel, but at this point the text collapses—it has been burned out, just as a ‘joint’ is burned out to produce a private euphoric state’ (Eco 1979, 9–10). On the possibility of twenty-first century readers being able to enter into and effectively reconstruct the hermeneutical horizons of ancient contexts, see the discussions in Thiselton 1997, 8; Alkier 2009a; Moyise 2009; Motyer 1997. Such entrance begins with an acknowledgment of distance: ‘*Only if we respect the distinctiveness of the horizons of the texts as against the distinctiveness of our own reader-horizon can a creative and productive interaction of horizons occur*’ (Thiselton 1997, 8, emphasis original). Also see Lord’s comments (n. 98 above).

171 Hays 1989, 27.

172 Wright 1992, 1:42.

by combining a number of approaches rather than fastening on just one'.¹⁷³ Jauhiainen, after analysing the methodologically substantial contributions of several scholars,¹⁷⁴ suggests 'abandoning the quest for scientific and objective criteria' on the basis that 'scholars have not been able to come up with criteria that match the nature of allusions in all their complexity'.¹⁷⁵ Instead, as exhibited in the studies in question and certainly magnified by our discussion of the oral form: 'The best approximation to objectivity is the normal scholarly debate to which all interpretations are subjected. The key issue is not how we discover or identify allusions, but rather how we are able to argue that our reading of the text makes the most sense'.¹⁷⁶ John Barton draws these observation together in a helpful way when, in speaking about the complex methodologies used in biblical interpretation more generally, he avers: 'All of the methods . . . have something in them, but none of them is the "correct method"' Instead, methods are, at best, 'codifications of intuitions about the text which may occur to intelligent readers'.¹⁷⁷

3.5 Conclusion: The Investigative Method Adopted in This Study

In light of the criteria and observations noted in this chapter, my approach in the second and third parts of this work will be to offer a reading of the FG that attempts to 'make sense' of the parts of the FG in light the whole, and the whole in light of the parts. My method will be to follow the basic advice of Moyise: to 'offer hypotheses that explain the literary data, offer a plausible intention or purpose for it, and show that it is not impossible for at least some of the readers [and/or listeners] to have understood it thus'.¹⁷⁸

173 Moyise 2008, 140–1.

174 Namely, Beale (1999), Paulien (1987), Hays (1989), Thompson (1991), Fekkes (1994) and Paul (2000).

175 Jauhiainen 2005, 199:33.

176 Jauhiainen 2005, 199:33–4. As Lord remarked with reference to his own examination of oral works, 'Our greatest error is to attempt to make "scientifically rigid a phenomenon that is fluid"' (1960, 101).

177 Barton 1996b, 2:5, quoted in Longman 1996, 125. Longman himself recommends that 'the best approach . . . is an eclectic one' (Longman 1996, 125).

178 Moyise 2008, 140.

My first task in this pursuit, in Part 2, will be to examine the prologue, the leading 'part' of the FG that—however and whenever it came into place¹⁷⁹—has been deemed a profound 'gateway', 'preamble', 'preview', and/or theological 'overture' for the themes and contours of the whole.¹⁸⁰ What I aim to show is that, in addition to previewing the fundamental themes that will arise in the FG, there is good reason to affirm that these themes themselves are best understood as fitting into a common, fundamental, and eschatologically-charged Israelite/Jewish story-pattern. This story is assumed and laconically retold in the prologue, and Jesus is previewed as the answer to it. I will then attempt in Part 3 to show how the picture of Jesus mapped out on this narrative background in the prologue is worked out more fully in the body of the Gospel.

179 See Schnackenburg 1968, 221–3, who following von Harnack differentiates between whether the prologue was added *subsequently* to the gospel's writing, 'as a fitting "introduction", to a fully thought out Gospel, or had it always been foreseen as part of the structure of the Gospel?' (221). His own answer is to find a 'middle way' which does justice to these contrasting positions. The FE always intended the prologue because he wanted to 'change the ordinary frame of reference' used by the other gospel writers 'and reveal to his readers from the very beginning the mystery of Jesus's origin', but 'it was not easy to carry out' (223). The prologue probably developed over time, therefore, in conjunction with 'a primitive Christian hymn' (223).

180 'The structure and content of the Johannine Prologue determine the structure and content of the whole Gospel. It provides the reader with seminal statements about the cosmic situation and God's plan for mankind, statements which are explicated thereafter' (E. Harris 2004). Also see Palmer 2002, 15: 'The Gospel of John begins with a song, like the overture to a great symphonic composition in which the eventual themes of the symphony are briefly stated and suggested, yet with stunning force'; Hooker 1996, 83: 'In his introduction, this evangelist has given us the key that enables us to understand his Gospel... The evangelist's opening paragraphs find their fulfilment in Jesus' 'glorious' death'. Also see Hoskyns 1947, 137; Schnackenburg 1968, 221–3; Newbigin 1982, 1.

PART 2

A Story Told in the Beginning?



A Proposed Immanent Context for Hearing the Prologue

What our standard scholarly analytical practices render into unintelligible text fragments were held together intelligibly by cultural patterns of “scripts” derived from Israelite tradition, which constitute/provide the tacit infrastructure as well as the cultural meaning context of the speeches or the broader narrative of which they were integral complements.¹



4.1 Introduction

As established in the last chapter, the complicated oral and written media environment in which the FG took shape and was eventually penned demands a duly complicated method in approaching the FG as verbal art. A syncretic (oral and literary) poetics does not only disavow the concept of any ‘Great Divide’ between oral and written media in the first century, but is at pains to recognize that methods of composing and writing in the first century were not what they are today, just as the act of reading, gaining access to written material, and experiencing the performance of ‘texts’ were not what they are today. Even though highly developed literary or tAgora methods may be evident in first-century texts, compositions conceived and written in overwhelmingly oral environments will nonetheless bear the marks of aural sensitization and oral poetic influences—especially traditional, meaning-laden oral forms. These factors issue a caution to modern interpreters who may too quickly read ancient texts through the lenses of modern tAgora presuppositions. Openness must be exhibited on the part of modern interpreters, nourished by textual ideologies, to appreciate and search for oral forms of composition that may be unfamiliar, unfavourable, or uncharted. This is quintessentially true with reference to the story-pattern, which is the most foundational, even if most embedded, unit of reference in oral cultures to aid composers in the act of

¹ Horsley 2005, 70.

composition and performance while furnishing them with the power of supersonic speech. Entire narrative arcs could be insinuated into audiences' minds and then later fulfilled or subverted by invoking the slightest of associated elements from traditional schemas. The degree to which this compositional strategy pertains to the prologue of the FG will prove to be the overarching subject of the present chapter.

Again, the rationale for beginning with the prologue in Part 2 is related to the scholarly conviction that, while distinct, the prologue and body of the Gospel are tightly interconnected: the prologue previews and spearheads what the Gospel then unfolds. My own contention is that the prologue and body are related not only thematically and structurally but according to their implicit stories.

4.2 Approaching the Prologue as an Abbreviated Story: Building on Recent Contributions

Although a multiplicity of proposals have been made to account for the prologue's shaping,² Daniel Boyarin, Martin Hengel, and (in large part) C. H. Dodd have each convincingly argued that, when read in linear fashion, the prologue breaks down into two sub-sections that convey two stages in the history of the Word.³ Verses 1–13 retell the 'Prehistory' of the Word, the story of the 'Logos ἄσαρκός'. Verses 14–18 then preview the story about to be told, the story of the 'Logos ἔνσαρκος'. As such, the prologue is not only the 'gateway to Christological truth'; it is also a 'revelation history', a 'witness to the theology of the whole Bible—a salvation history that brings together Old and New Testaments'.⁴

2 See references in Moloney 1993, 25 and, for a more exhaustive treatment of studies published in German, see Theobald 1988, 54–155.

3 In distinction, say, to a chiasmic patterning; e.g., Culpepper 1980.

4 Hengel 2008, 273, 289. This particular formulation is Hengel's, but the arguments of all authors mentioned here are similar in apprehending two halves of the prologue, each corresponding to successive stages in the career of the Logos. See Boyarin 2001; Boyarin 2011; Dodd 1953, 263–85; Hengel 2008. Also see similar arguments in Waetjen 2005, 61–87 and Gese 1977, the latter to whom Hengel expresses particular indebtedness. The qualifier with reference to Dodd concerns the fact that Dodd stops short of identifying each half of the prologue as solely speaking to just one stage in the career of the Logos. He discerns that the 'language of verses 11–13, at least, would be equally in place as a description of the historical ministry of Jesus Christ' (Dodd 1953, 282). Thus, he judges, in accord with the FE's tendency to multiply meanings elsewhere in the Gospel, it may be seen that the 'whole passage from verse 4, is *at once* an account of the relations of the Logos with the world, *and* an account of the ministry

The idea that will be proposed here is that although the FE's retelling of this history summarizes the trajectory of the story about God, the world, and Israel *en large*, the constellation of language and themes used in the prologue also appear to assume and evoke an idiosyncratic and eschatologically-charged story-pattern rooted specifically in Adam and temple theology. That is, as I will argue over the next two chapters, the prologue appears to retell an *inherent* story about the revelatory and consummating role of humanity in God's macrocosmic temple. This proposal can be made more specific by observing two more general points about these two main sections of the prologue.

First, as is well recognized, by locating the pre-incarnate Logos 'in the beginning', 'with' (or 'toward') God, 'as God', mediatorially active in creation (vv. 1–3), and by then proceeding to show the Logos as the 'life' and 'light' seeking residence among humans (vv. 4–13), the FE evokes the opening moments of the Genesis narrative of creation along with a complex cluster of associated ideas. These ideas include Wisdom, as well as various concepts akin to Philo's Logos and 'second god', Torah, Memra, and the Name of God, which various Jewish traditions saw present with, and instrumental for, God at the creation of the world.⁵ Importantly, all of these concepts attempt to represent the transcendent God's purposeful will and self-expression in the world, which is to say, his means of being present, revealed, and regnant on earth, thereby linking heaven and earth.⁶ This is a most important point to which I will return. The point to be made now, as Boyarin makes most forcefully, is that as

of Jesus Christ, which in every essential particular reproduces those relations' (284, emphasis original). Waetjen rejects this theory out of hand (Waetjen 2005, 76 n. 49). For myself, insofar as the FE's retelling of the past may be intended to foreshadow a recapitulation in the Gospel, I agree with Dodd. The FE's intonation in vv. 11–13 may well be read as communicating the truth that 'as it was before, so it was again'. In other words, the FE draws a line of continuity between the two stages of the career of the Logos, showing that Israel and/or humanity's response to the Logos, whether un-fleshed or fleshed, has always been dual, and with similar results. I will return to this point at the conclusion on this chapter.

- 5 For a primer on potential backgrounds for the FE's Logos theology, see Excursus I in Schnackenburg 1968, 481–93; Dodd 1953, 263–67; Boyarin 2011; and especially Evans 1993. For a more recent treatment, see the comprehensive survey in Phillips 2006, 90–142. I will pick up the question of whether or not ideas like the Logos and Wisdom were considered personifications or separate hypostases on p. 115 below.
- 6 The Word, is 'conceived as a divine hypostasis in which the eternal God is revealed and active' (Dodd 1953, 280). Cf. Hoskyns, who judges that 'Philo solves the problem of the relation between the supernatural, invisible, unknowable world and the material world by making use of the conception of the *Logos* as the active manifestation of God in the physical world' (Hoskyns 1947, 158).

extraordinary as these ideas found in the first thirteen verses of the prologue may sound, and as much as some scholars have wanted to attribute these ideas *de novo* to the early church, ‘they constitute a piece of perfectly unexceptional non-Christian Jewish thought’.⁷ The FE’s presentation of the pre-incarnate Word accords with contemporaneous scriptural, Second Temple, and later Jewish ideas.

This leads to my second preliminary point, which is that, in contrast to these first thirteen verses, ‘unexceptional’ in their claims as they are, the climax of the prologue, which is reached in v. 14, is typically viewed as utterly exceptional.⁸ As Hengel remarks, ‘the climax and goal [of the prologue] is the incarnation of the Word in v. 14’, wherein ‘*the* miracle takes place that is unimaginable for human beings: in his Word God himself becomes human’.⁹ Boyarin states that ‘what marks the Fourth Gospel as a new departure in the history of Judaism is not to be found in its Logos theology at all but in its incarnational Christology’.¹⁰ Dodd similarly insists that v. 14 ‘takes us beyond the range of Jewish ideas, and we shall not expect anything in the way of Old Testament documentation’.¹¹ But is this right? Does v. 14 really take us totally ‘beyond the range of Jewish ideas’? Or is what is said in v. 14, and then what follows in vv. 15–18, more intimately related to the story rehearsed in vv. 1–13 than has been previously appreciated?

Certainly, the idea that the Word conceived of as God himself or as *Deuteros Theos* becoming flesh is new, as there is nothing in Jewish tradition which appears thoroughly to have prepared for this conceptuality.¹² Yet, the idea that

7 Boyarin 2011, 549. This is true because ‘in the first centuries of the Christian era, the idea of the Word (Gk *Logos*) was known in some Greek philosophical circles as a link connecting the Transcendent/the Divine with humanity/the terrestrial. For Jews, the idea of this link between heaven and earth, whether called by the Greek *Logos* or *Sophia* (“wisdom”) or by the Aramaic *Memra* (“word”), permeated first- and second-century thought’ (Boyarin 2011, 546). Cf. also Boyarin 2001, 248; Dodd 1953, 283; Evans 1993, 103–14; Waetjen 2005, 65–87.

8 This judgment is apiece with the wider Christian and Jewish tendency to assert ‘the radical difference and total separation of Christianity from Judaism at a very early period’ (Boyarin 2001, 243).

9 Hengel 2008, 268, 283, emphasis original.

10 Boyarin 2001, 261. Likewise Waetjen 2005, 76.

11 Dodd 1953, 271. Cf. also Hurtado ‘The Johannine believers attributed to Jesus a status in their religious life and thought that exceeds anything we know of by way of analogy in the impressive Jewish traditions about messiahs or other agents of God of that or subsequent periods’ (Hurtado 2003, 360–61).

12 Although see now Boyarin 2012, 6, 101; Barker 1992, who claim to have found some Jewish parallels/antecedents to the incarnation.

the Word conceived of as God's agent in creation, making visible God's invisible presence and rule, and, as Word and Wisdom, seeking to mediate this presence and rule in cooperation with 'flesh', is not entirely new. It dovetails with *imago* and election conceptuality as found in Genesis, Israel's scriptures, and related literature. As I will defend more fully below, within a cosmos conceptualized in broadest terms as a temple complex, ἡ ἀνθρωπότης (humanity and/or Adam) is created or, more probably, elected from among the animals,¹³ as Israel is likewise elected from among the nations, for the purpose of being wise, 'Word-of-God-bearing' people, charged with the task of mediating God's presence and rule in the earthly temple as they abide by the Word/Law/Wisdom of God. It seems significant in this respect that the story of God's personified or hypostasized Word and Wisdom seeking a dwelling-place or place to 'tabernacle' with humans generally and/or Israel specifically is—in view of texts like Sirach 24 and 1 *Enoch* 42, 93—central to the thought flow of the first half of the prologue.¹⁴

It might be said that the whole problem that is developed in the first half of the prologue, with the careful qualification in vv. 12–13,¹⁵ is that, in direct frustration to God's desires for Adam (v. 5), the world (v. 10), and Israel (v. 11), the pre-incarnate Word/Wisdom of God tries but fails to 'become flesh'. If this reading can be sustained, then the climactic declaration of v. 14 can quite naturally be understood as the staggering—yet appropriate—answer to this problem. Unable to find residence in the flesh of a willing humanity, God in the Word became flesh himself, and thus succeeded in inaugurating the fulfillment of purposive history bound up with humanity since the beginning—which is to say, the scriptural tale writ large.¹⁶

13 See Moritz 2011, especially Chapter 10.

14 Cf. Proverbs 1:20–28.

15 I will treat these exceptional verses at considerable length beginning on p. 133 below.

16 My proposal here comports with Ashton's conviction that 'once one is aware of the true background of the Prologue, one can see why it is a mistake to regard it simply as a hymn about creation, culminating in incarnation. Creation is indeed one of its themes, but it would be closer to the mark to say that it is a hymn about *revelation* that culminates in incarnation—the incarnation of the revealing Logos' (Ashton 2007, 504). My own emphasis is that the themes of creation and revelation as they centre on man must be held together. The central dynamic of the prologue concerns the problem of revelation to humans and, therefore, through humans that is answered in the incarnation. A similar rendering of the function of v. 14 within the sweep of the prologue is expounded in Scott and Scott 1992, although without reference to the *imago Dei*: 'Is this assertion [that the Logos became flesh] really so surprising? If Sophia was active in creation, seeks a dwelling-place continually with humanity, and is responsible for them, it is only one

Boyarin recognizes the possibility that v. 14 answers the problem of wisdom seeking a home in vv. 1–11, but does not connect Wisdom’s tabernacling in Jesus to an Adam/Abraham election theology.¹⁷ Hengel mentions the ‘fall’ and damage of the *imago Dei* due to the first couple’s sin in his exposition of the history of the pre-incarnate Word in vv. 1–13, but he does not develop this with reference to Jesus in vv. 14–18.¹⁸ Dodd comes closer, reasoning that

the incarnation of the Logos appears as the final concentration of the whole creative and revealing thought of God, which is also the meaning of the universe, in an individual who is what humanity was designed to be in the divine purposes, and therefore is rightly called the ‘Son of Man’, that is to say, ὁ ἀληθινὸς ἄνθρωπος.¹⁹

Nevertheless, Dodd fails to apply this in any substantial way to an *imago*/election conceptuality.

In an attempt to go considerably beyond these authors, therefore, the aim of the next two chapters is to show how such an *imago*/election theology is latent within the text and accounts for the particular ‘tension of essences’ one finds here. The key move in the argument that will be advanced is to demonstrate that the notion of the rejection of the Word/Light/Wisdom of God in

final logical step from there to ὁ σοφία σὰρξ ἐγένετο’ (Scott and Scott 1992, 105). The most logical step in my opinion, however, is to see that the Logos’ becoming flesh is an answer to the problem of God’s revelatory purposes to and through humanity for his world. For the question of eschatology in the FG, see Ricca 1966 and the assessment of Dodd: ‘That history had a real beginning: ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος . . . πάντα δι’ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο. It will have a real ending; and Christ is the end as Christ was the beginning’ (Dodd 1968, 276, quoting Ricca).

17 Rather, Boyarin connects the incarnation to the idea that Jesus is a ‘better teacher’ than the Torah (see 2011, 284).

18 Hengel 2008, 276–7. Hengel instead focuses on the fact that only God *as God* could bring about redemption for humans; the incarnation is fundamentally about a mystery that calls forth doxology: ‘Real redemption, universal atonement, new creation, and the overcoming of evil . . . could be brought about only by God . . . There was [thus] an inner consequence and necessity in the notion of preexistence and incarnation. . . . Only as the *Deus incarnates* who has come to us in order vicariously to free us from the fate of sin and death can he give us the certainty of salvation’ (Hengel 2008, 289–90, 291). God becomes human for Hengel, then, because humanity needed a vicarious sacrifice. Incarnation as it relates to atonement are the central themes, not human vocation as potentially answered in the incarnation that then entails atonement/salvation. On questions of vicarious atonement and the FG, see Chapter 7, n. 16 below.

19 Dodd 1953, 282.

Israelite/Jewish tradition is not merely an admission of sin and a concomitant declaration of the need of (additional) grace; it can also be metonymic for a much larger story. More pointedly, to review the serialized fact that Adam/the world and Israel have rejected the divine Logos and Light who was their source of creation and revelation—and to rehearse this specifically as a prefix to announcing the coming of ‘the Logos’ in the ‘tabernacling’ ‘flesh’ of Jesus whose ‘glory’ has been beheld and outflanks the ‘grace’ given by ‘Moses’ who brought the ‘Law’—is a chain-linked form of *pars pro toto* speech. It interlinks a network of associations that evokes a most basic theological anthropology anchored in temple theology: thematic nuclei in Israel’s scriptures and traditions that are themselves united by a deeply subterranean and consistently replayed story-pattern. In its most rudimentary form, this story is about God’s eschatological purposes for Adam that devolve onto Abraham/Israel as something of a new Adam. In its fuller version, this story is about Adam and Israel’s decisive role or vocation in a cosmos that is conceptualized in temple terms. It is this larger version of this story, I will propose, that the FE has in mind and evokes in the prologue as a deliberate anticipation of what will be worked out and, indeed, ‘played with’, more fully in the rest of his Gospel.

Perhaps the best way to demonstrate that the FE is indeed summoning up the stories of Adam and Abraham/Israel as they fit within this larger temple framework is to simply show how it works. I will proceed by attempting to establish this proposed backstory or immanent context for reading the prologue. I will then assess how 1:1–13 and 1:14–18 can be ‘read’ in the light of this narrative framework in Chapter 5. My fundamental contention will be that the proposed background, while initially complicating the foreground of the prologue quite considerably, ultimately serves to crystallize its matrix of images, language, and conceptions in meaningful fashion. I will also show how this reading reinforces the longstanding sense that v. 18 is an ingenious segue from the prologue into the body of the Gospel.

4.3 Turning Up the Volume: Adam and Israel’s Vocation(s) in Light of the Cosmic Temple

My approach in this section will be to examine the stories of Adam and Abraham/Israel as they are presented separately in Jewish tradition, dealing first with Adam and then with Israel. This will enable me to show how the foundational script being suggested is apparent in both. It will also enable me to establish the organic connection between Adam and Israel with reference to their vocations, and especially how Israel’s *raison d’être* and

eschatological hopes are rooted in, and thus aroused by mention of, protological matters. It will also be important to expose the range and overlap of language and associated imagery used in describing the ontologies, significance, and phenomenological attributes of Adam, Israel, and tabernacle/temple realities. This will better enable us to see the combination and synthetic reappropriation of this same symbolic alphabet—these ‘tensions of essences’—with reference to the Logos/Jesus in the two main sections of the FG’s prologue.

4.3.1 *Adam*

The creation of אָדָם /ἄνθρωπος (humanity) in Genesis is introduced in the context of a seven-day schema that culminates in the Creator’s rest (Gen. 1:1–2:3). The utilization of this number pattern and Sabbath theme for cosmological purposes was conventional in the ANE, and points to a much broader pattern of thought revolving around the idea of the creation of the cosmos as the construction of the Deity’s (Palace-) Temple.²⁰ Central to the pattern of these narratives, and clearly evident in Genesis 1, is a progression from chaos to cosmos, as an undifferentiated mass of material—usually of darkness and water—is progressively separated into differentiable component parts. The point of this separating activity is not to emphasize the material nature of the universe but to identify the Universe’s various functionaries. As John Walton stresses:

[P]eople in the ancient world believed that something existed not by virtue of its material properties, *but by virtue of its having a function in an ordered system*. . . . In this sort of functional ontology, the sun does not exist by virtue of its material properties Rather it exists by virtue of the role that it has in *its* sphere of existence In a functional ontology . . . [u]nless something is integrated into a working, ordered system, it does not exist. Consequently, the actual creative act is to assign something its functioning role in the ordered system.²¹

Within the Genesis narrative, the function of human beings is of paramount importance. They are stationed, as were the cult statues and images in ANE temples, lastly and most importantly as the authorized ‘image’ or ‘idol’ (צֶלֶם) of the deity in the temple.²² The function of these idols was apiece with their

20 See Walton 2009, 86, 180–81 n. 1; Hurowitz 2007, 91.

21 Walton 2009, 24–5, emphasis original.

22 See Middleton 2011, 395; Sommer 2009, 68–71; Provan 1999, 25–6; Fletcher-Louis 2004a, 83–4. On the concept of a human being as an idol (צֶלֶם) in Genesis, Provan notes that despite the strict prohibitions in scripture against the making of idols, ‘the OT does allow

alleged ontology. As Herring has demonstrated with etic but accurate language, the presence of the deity was understood to be transubstantiated within his idol. It therefore functioned as the manifest presence of the Deity, its sacramental host.²³ The idol was not merely a symbol of the Deity, it was its socio-political presence. The idol was not merely the authorized representation of the Deity, it was its avatar, revelation, epiphany. Given this background and '[l]oosely speaking' the creation of human beings in Genesis 1 is perhaps best thought of 'an 'incarnational' cosmology'.²⁴

The significance of man's creation in God's image, as God's idol, is quintessentially representational/presentational: man, as the image of God, is uniquely chosen to mediate God's presence and rule to the rest of the creation. Another way of putting this, as is implicit in the Genesis narrative and made explicit in Jubilees, is to recognize primal man as priest and king (or, probably, priest-king) in God's earthly Temple.²⁵ There are also grounds for affirming a prophetic element in Adam's identity. As John Davies observes, Adam is portrayed in Genesis 2 as one who enjoys face-to-face encounters with God that are accompanied by direct revelation²⁶—marks of the prophetic office which, according to Deuteronomy, are second to none.²⁷ If this judgment is correct,

one exception to its general objection to God being imaged in something that is creation. It allows that human beings, male and female, are created in the image (צלם) and likeness of God (Gen 1:26–27) . . . The Hebrew word is *šelem*—precisely the word used of the representations of the gods in Num 33:52; Amos 5:26; 2 Kgs 11:18; Ezek 7:20; 23:14' (Provan 1999, 25–26). Also see Herring 2013, 87–126.

23 Herring 2008; Herring 2013, 116. Provan argues that Genesis 2 is connected to Genesis 1's portrayal of humanity as God's *šelem*: 'The echoes of other ancient Near Eastern texts abound, in which we read about representations of the gods . . . in celestial splendor, and led forth by them to a garden by a river . . . or about kings who set up their images in far-flung reaches of their empires to symbolize their ownership of territory and their authority over it' (Provan 1999, 25–26). Thus Adam as an individual in Genesis 2 (although in the LXX not until 2:16) may be taken as the first particular of the universal *adam*, humanity, characterized in Genesis 1.

24 Fletcher-Louis 2004a, 84.

25 See *Opif.* 148 ('the first created man . . . was a king . . . [God's] own viceroy and the ruler of all other creatures'); Barker 2010, 1–2 ('Adam was the first high priest of this temple, and care of the creation was his liturgy'); Himmelfarb 1997, 91; and van Ruiten 1999.

26 J. A. Davies 2011, 44.

27 See Deut 34:10a. See also Kline 1980; Mauser 2000, 91. The Wisdom of Solomon also seems to imply Adam's prophetic constitution: for wisdom is 'a breath of the power of God and an emanation of the pure glory of the Almighty . . . a reflection of eternal light . . . [who] in every generation passes into holy souls and make them friends of God and *prophets*' (7:25a, 26a, 27b–c, italics added).

then the nature of man's mediation of God's heavenly presence as presented in Genesis 1–2 is threefold: 'king in that he exercises dominion . . . archetypal priest in that he is granted the privilege of access to God's sanctuary garden . . . [and] prophet in that he enjoys a face-to-face encounter with God and receives his direct revelation'.²⁸ Understanding Adam's vocation in terms of these offices may be important, as Fletcher-Louis has noted, because it highlights why Second Temple thinkers may have had motive to endow saviour figures with more than one office:

Because in Genesis 1–2 Adam has both royal characteristics and priestly ones, and because Second Temple political theology sought to replicate the conditions of the paradisaical *Urzeit*, the combination of king and priest in one figure will have been conceptually far more attractive than modern scholarship has appreciated.²⁹

Creation in the image of the deity in ANE cosmologies is also inexorably tied to the idea of 'glory' (כבוד/δόξα),³⁰ a complex concept that is frequently associated with the ideas of light, brilliance, iridescence, wisdom, righteousness, splendour, kingly/priestly majesty, and mystical experiences of God's heavenly throne room.³¹ It is perhaps especially associated with the idea of 'light' as a visible manifestation of God's glory.³² This suggests that the same should be understood of Adam in Genesis 1–2. Later interpreters certainly understood Adam in this way, and with all the associated connotations/images. Sirach catalogues the 'glory' (δόξα) of Israel's most 'famous men' (Sir 44–49) and concludes that 'above every living thing in creation was Adam (Αδამ)' (49:16). The Qumran community was also rooted in an understanding of Adam's primal glory (כבוד). The sectarians' core conviction in this regard is well represented in 4Q504, as translated by Andrei Orlov: '... [.. Adam,] our [fat]her, *you fashioned in the image of [your] glory*'.³³ Various rabbinic and targumic works reflect

²⁸ J. A. Davies 2011, 43–4.

²⁹ Fletcher-Louis 2006, 165 n. 38. E.g., 'For Josephus, John Hyrcanus represents the pinnacle of the Hasmonean priestly and royal power in as much as Hyrcanus is both king, priest, and prophet' (Fletcher-Louis 2002, 56, emphasis original).

³⁰ See Beale 2011, 31, 37; Herring 2008.

³¹ See TDNT, II, 232–55. Sommer 2009, 68–71.

³² 'The *kabod* consists of unspeakably bright light, and for this reason, it is surrounded by a cloud' (Sommer 2009, 68).

³³ Orlov 2002. Also see references in Wright 1992, 1:265–6.

a similar understanding of Adam's primal radiance.³⁴ Adam and Eve's nakedness after transgressing, for example, is taken in an ontological sense and thus juxtaposed with the 'garments of glory' they had been adorned with in their pre-lapsarian state.³⁵ Other texts locate Adam's glory-luminosity directly in his face.³⁶ 2 *Enoch* 22:1 (longer recension), for example, qualifies the act of Adam's creation in Gen 1:26 as a creation 'after the face of God', that is, 'incandescent'.³⁷ After surveying a wide spectrum of Jewish literature on this topic in a study aiming to establish *The Significance of Clothing Imagery in the Pauline Corpus* (2004), Jung Hoon Kim concludes:

The idea of Adam's pre-lapsarian clothing was quite prevalent in ancient times. Adam and Eve's clothing with righteousness and glory before the Fall (*Apoc. Mos.* 20–21) indicates that they were characterized not only by a right ethical attitude in relation to God but also by a radiance in their appearance, and this was related to their possession of God's image.... The first couple were typified by glory or brilliance, which is often linked to God's image in them.³⁸

Although the idea of luminosity and the word glory is never used with reference to God's earthly image-bearers in Genesis 1–3, the concept of humanity's glory is certainly present. It is intrinsic to ANE *imago* language, as already noted; more importantly, it is portrayed in Genesis 1–3 as inexorably bound up with Adam's vocation. This is evident in both creation accounts, as well as in the dialectic struck between them.

What is conspicuous about the first creation account is precisely what is lacking. After all, the consummative action capping all of God's other holy constructions is the filling of the newly constructed tabernacle or temple with the glory of God, usually in its manifestation as a cloud.³⁹ But in Genesis 1 there is

34 On the problems and possibilities of using the Targumim for the interpretation of NT texts, cf. Evans 2005, 187–8; Evans 2007, 51. They will be used very sparingly herein.

35 See Orlov 2002. Orlov also comments on the pervasiveness of the theme of Adam's glory in Syrian sources and the Marcarian Homilies, which he argues are dependent on much earlier traditions extending back at least as far the Dead Sea Scrolls (see Orlov 2002, n. 7 and n. 21). Also see Bunta 2007, 147.

36 See Orlov 2002.

37 See Bunta 2007, 160. Cf. also *Leviticus Rabbah* 20.2; Iranenaeus, *Against Heresies*, Bk 1, Ch. xxx, §9.

38 Kim 2004, 102. Also see references in Barker 2010, 4; and the study of Kim 2004 just referenced.

39 E.g., Exod 40:34–8; 1 Kgs 8:10–11; 2; 1 Chron 5:13b–14; Hag 2:6–9.

no such filling. As Richard Middleton observes, this is an oddity that must be accounted for because God's Spirit/wind, which is frequently paralleled and/or equated in the tradition with the glory-cloud of God's presence,⁴⁰ certainly is present in Genesis 1. So we have a puzzle: 'Although the spirit of God was, indeed, hovering over creation at the beginning (Gen 1:2), as if God was getting ready to breathe his presence into the world, when the Creator rests on the seventh day (Gen 2:1–3), the world is not yet filled with God's glory'.⁴¹ And the question this raises with considerable rhetorical force is: why not? Middleton notes that glory does not fill the earthly temple in Genesis 1 because, in the primal world, prior to the rebellion of humanity against God's Word and Wisdom, the glory of the macrocosmic temple of God on earth is wrapped up with the glory of God's idol—humanity. In other words, bringing the fullness of God's glory into God's cosmic temple on earth is at the heart of humanity's vocation. 'The key point is that the mediation of God's presence on earth is precisely the historical vocation of humanity as *imago Dei*, a vocation that has only just been assigned (and not yet carried out) in Gen 1'.⁴² Put more pointedly, 'human beings are the divinely designated embodied mediators of the Creator's presence from heaven (where Yahweh is enthroned) to earth,' and are thus responsible to complete 'the destiny of the cosmic temple, so that God might fully indwell the earthly realm, much as the glory of Yahweh filled the tabernacle when it was completed (Exod. 40:34–35)'.⁴³

40 On this point, see especially J. R. Greene 2012, who traces the development of these terms/ images and their close association into and beyond the Second Temple period.

41 R. Middleton 2011, 395.

42 R. Middleton 2011, 395.

43 R. Middleton 2011, 395. The idea that humanity represented God's glory in Genesis is supported by Benjamin Sommer's conclusion that the human form or 'body' itself is manifestly associated with God's radiant glory or 'body' in Ezekiel 1:26–7: 'The most spectacular example', that *kabod* consists of radiant light, says Sommer, 'was Ezekiel who saw the *kabod* directly and clearly . . . "a form like the semblance of a human . . . with something that resembled fire . . . and brightness all around . . ." Ezekiel is careful not to equate this divine body with a typical human body (it had not "loins" but "what resembled loins"), but for all his careful verbal reservations, he makes it clear that the *kabod* looks rather like a human body' (Sommer 2009, 68–9). Sommer then connects this portrait of divine glory in Ezekiel to what we are told about God's 'image-bearers' in Genesis 1: 'Unlike Ezekiel, the P documents in the Pentateuch do not describe the shape of the *kabod*, but they do speak of the form and shape (צֶלֶם וְדְמוּת) of humans in Genesis 1.26–27, 5.1, and 9.6 . . . These verses assert that human beings have the same form as God and other heavenly beings' (Sommer 2009, 68–9). The 'form' of the human in Genesis 1, in other words, may be taken as the visible form of God's glory.

This is an important point and worth stressing here, because it exposes the narrative tissue connecting Israel's theological anthropology with temple theology. The implicit yet foundational purpose of humanity according to Genesis 1 was to consummate the earthly temple by progressively multiplying and going into it as the regents and idols of God, thereby filling it with God's glory.⁴⁴

The Qumran community apparently interpreted Genesis 1 in this way. As Orlov observes, 'the Qumran Adamic account in 4Q504 8 is distinctive in that it connects Adam's glorious state with his ability to exercise dominion over the rest of creation. 4Q504 8 reads: "...[...Adam,] our [fat]her, *you fashioned in the image of [your] glory* ... You made [him] *govern* [...] [...] so that he would walk in a glorious land"'.⁴⁵ Sirach 44:1–5 likewise connects and, in fact, appears to explicate the glory of Adam, as the 'famous men' after him, in terms of their success as exemplary prophets, priests, and kings—i.e. restored functionaries in God's world.⁴⁶ Psalm 19 is also instructive in this regard, for the logic of the Psalm suggests that just as the luminous sun declares the δόξαν θεοῦ by faithfully fulfilling its purpose in the created order (vv. 1–6), so humanity glorifies God when it fulfills its respective purpose in the created order, a task that humanity must undertake in conjunction with the Law (vv. 7–13).⁴⁷ Psalm 8, considered by some Hebrew exegetes to be a conscious reshaping of Genesis 1 and 2, conveys man in a counterpoint relationship to God's 'name' and 'magnificence' set 'above the heavens' (Ps 8:1).⁴⁸ Indeed, despite the fact that the Creator has created resplendent heavenly *bodies* like the sun and moon (v. 3), and refulgent heavenly beings like the angels/gods (v. 5a), the Creator has (rather comically) chosen to crown shotten herring 'man/son of man' (v. 4) with 'glory (δόξα) and honor' (v. 5b), dignifying him with the task of guarding God's temple as a faithful priest (v. 2; cf. Gen 2:15) and of mediating God's rule as a faithful king (vv. 6–8).⁴⁹ It is also intriguing to note how the Psalmist frames this positive

44 See the same conclusion in Beale 2011, 37.

45 Orlov 2002.

46 Taking the teaching role depicted in this passage (v. 4) as reflecting a priestly task. On the role of priests as teachers, see Jensen 2005.

47 A similar perspective is evident in 1 En 2–5.

48 See, for example, Waltke 2007, 131–2. For מְהִלָּה (magnificence) as a synonym of glory, see TWOT, 28.

49 Humanity is called in Ps 8:2 to silence the 'enemy and the avenger'. The terms typically translated 'work' (עָבַד) and 'keep' (שָׁמַר) in Gen 2:15 may be understood as to 'serve' and 'guard' (Beale 2011, 32). They are the same terms, as Seth Postell has noted, 'most frequently used elsewhere in the Pentateuch (Num 3:7–8; 8:26; 18:5–6) to describe the Levites' occupation in the tabernacle' (Postell 2011, 112). Silencing the foe and the avenger, then, may be construed as a priestly duty to 'guard' the sanctuary of God, even as the

meditation on man's vocation with an inclusio that, perhaps proleptically, envisions God's 'name'—which is intimately associated in Jewish tradition with God's 'glory'⁵⁰—as magnified in 'all the earth' (vv. 1, 9). The sense, again, is that when humanity is faithful to their divine calling in the world, the glory of God will 'fill the world as the waters cover the sea'. The *telos* of creation will be realized.

Genesis 2 supports this reading while also filling it out more picturesquely in association with the image of fructifying waters. For the πνεῦμα θεοῦ that hovers over but does not fill God's macrocosmic temple in Genesis 1 is shown uniquely to fill man with πνοή in Gen 2:7. Πνεῦμα and πνοή are used in parallel in the LXX in describing humanity's insufflation/vivification.⁵¹ Once again, 4Q504 8 appears to propose this sort of interpretation when it links Adam's glory not only to his vocation but to his divine insufflation: '[... Adam,] our [fat]her, you fashioned in the image of [your] glory ... [... the breath of life] you [b]lew into his nostril'. The image produced here in the conjunction or appositional configuration of Genesis 1 and 2 (in dialogue with texts like Exodus 40:34 and 1 Kings 8:10–11), is of a microcosmic tabernacle—indeed, an anthropic-tabernacle—within a macrocosmic earthly temple.⁵² Moreover, in functional terms, the glory of God in man is to be the means of the cosmic temple's own consummation with glory. It is a relationship of telic and eschatological dependence: the macrocosmic temple of God is to be suffused with heavenly glory, and God's infused image-bearers are to be the 'principal operative mechanism'⁵³ of this ultimate glorification. Here, then, we once again find the fundamental lineaments of the same protologically-rooted and eschatologically-driven story-pattern.

The fact that Eden is pictorialized as the earthly holy of holies supports this notion.⁵⁴ For if the holy of holies in scripture and Jewish tradition is the

Levites were to guard the temple from impurity. On the idea of the paradox of (weak) man's (dignified) position in the universe, see 2 *En* 30:8–10.

50 See, for example, LXX Exod. 33:19; Num 14:21; 1 Chr. 16:29; 22:5; Neh 9:5; Jdt 9:8; Ps 28:2; 65:2; Isa 24:15; Jer 14:21; Bar 5:4. Cf. John. 12:28; 14:13; Rom 15:9; 1 Pet 4:14; Rev 11:13; 15:4; 16:9; and J. R. Greene 2012.

51 Isa 42:5: 'Thus says God, the LORD ... who gives πνοήν to the people upon it and πνεῦμα to those who walk in it' Likewise in Job 27:3; 32:8; Job 33:4.

52 Or, as it might be put: 'bodies of God' within other 'bodies of God'. See Sommer 2009.

53 The phrase is Kline's (see Kline 2006, 18).

54 That Eden is depicted and was later thought of as some sort of holy of holies is well accepted. The author of Jubilees states that Noah 'knew that the Garden of Eden is the holy of holies, and the dwelling of the Lord'. As van Ruiten writes: 'The Garden of Eden is a holy place, more holy than any land (3:12), it is a place that belongs to the Lord, and that is conceived as "the Holy of Holies" and the residence of the Lord (8:19). ... It means that the

supreme site of God's glory because it is at once the seat of God's heavenly throne, and if man is taken from the 'dust' of the earth (2:7) and providentially placed in this most sacred space (Gen 2:8, 15), then the primal man is both infused with and suffused by divine glory, whereas the rest of God's cosmic Temple, as yet, is not (or at least not fully so). Adam's implied function is once again to mediate this glory to the world. Or, to characterize this function more specifically now in attunement with Eden's suggestive topography, Adam's task, as priest-king in God's creation, is to multiply the image of God with the aid of his 'suitable helper' and thus take the undimmed glory experienced in the paradisaal throne-room of God and, just as the waters which flow quadrifariously through/from this sanctuary-mountain to fructify the earth, diffuse God's glory into the rest of the world.⁵⁵ In this way, indeed, like man—infused, suffused, and diffusing glory—the 'earth will be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea' (Hab 2:14).⁵⁶ God's abundant life and blessing will be all in all.⁵⁷

It is at this point that we must observe the emplotted lynchpin driven into the centre of this story-pattern. As underscored throughout Second Temple and later literature and centrally monumentalized in the foundational story

Garden of Eden is seen as a temple, or more precise [sic] as part of the Temple, the room which is in the rear of the Temple, where the ark of the covenant of the Lord is placed, and which is often called "Holy of Holies" (van Ruiten 1999, 218). See also Walton 2009, 81–2; Barker 2010; Postell 2011, 40–1; Beale 2011, 617–22. Or, for more primary references, *T. Levi* 18:6, *T. Dan.* 5:12; *Apoc. Mos.* 29:1–6.

55 The paralleling of Adam with water's role may sound forced. But as Victor Hurowitz has recently emphasized, temples were commonly conceptualized in antiquity as well-springs of life for the world. Thus, a poetic match between Adam's glory-filling role and water's life-giving reality may have been obvious (Hurowitz 2007, 80–1; also see M. S. Smith 2007, 6–10; Ezek 47:1–2; Zech 14:8). The difference between these two sources of life, of course, is that Adam rules over the garden and thus 'controls' the water. As Fletcher-Louis points out, this is the view of Sirach. Sirach presents Adam as the 'gardener and guardian of the world's irrigation system (cf. Gen 2.15)' (Fletcher-Louis 2004b, 79; cf. Sir 24:29–31).

56 Cf. Isa 11:9; Ps 72:19; Zech 14:9.

57 Beale articulates Adam's task similarly: 'The aim of spreading God's glory worldwide through glorious image-bearers is to be understood more specifically as extending the boundaries of the Eden temple (which contained the divine glory) around the entire earth. . . . The intention seems to be that Adam was to widen the boundaries of the garden in ever-increasing circles by extending the order of the garden sanctuary into the inhospitable outer spaces. The outward expansion would include the goal of spreading the glorious presence of God. This would be accomplished especially by Adam's progeny born in his image and thus reflecting God's image and the light of his presence' (Beale 2011, 38, 622).

of Adam, there is a condition for the fulfillment of this vocation. Man must subscribe and entrust himself to a wisdom other than his own, the wisdom manifested in God's word of prohibition. Disavowal of this wisdom does not only entail a breaking of the Law/commandment/Word, an act of foolish disobedience that leads to death;⁵⁸ Adam's transgression also entrails a tragic loss of ontological glory—which is implicitly a loss of light or luminescence—a loss of glory and light for Adam as well as a loss of glory for the world that is dependent on him for its own consummate glory. This loss of glory is not only perhaps emblemized in Genesis 3 by the couple's (a) fear of God's presence,⁵⁹ (b) recognition of a shameful nakedness;⁶⁰ (c) loss of kingly, priestly, and prophetic capacities;⁶¹ and, especially, (d) expulsion from the glory-sanctuary of Eden;⁶² it is also (e) stated explicitly in later literature that Adam's transgression caused his loss of glory, frequently understood in visible terms as radiating 'light'.⁶³

In sum, my analysis of Genesis 1–3, considered in tandem with Adam traditions in later Jewish literature, establishes that Adam/humanity was understood in at least some strands of Judaism to have been created/elected as God's image-bearer and idol, uniquely filled with the glory/spirit/breath of God.

58 See, e.g., 4 *Ezra* 3:4–8; 7:112–29; Hos 6:7; 1 Cor 15:22; Rom 5:12–21.

59 A greater irony can scarcely be imagined. The image-bearer, dignified to communicate God's visible presence to the world, is afraid of the very presence he presents. Put Platonically, the mouse becomes afraid of mousiness.

60 If Adam and Eve were understood as originally clothed in garments of glory, then recognition of physical nakedness is quite possibly to be understood as a recognition of ontological divestiture (loss of [garments of] glory).

61 The truth man is supposed to speak becomes alloyed with lies, thus, despoiling his role as prophet; the progeny he is to bear for filling the world with God's glorious image becomes frustrated by pain and struggle, thus crippling his capacity for the proliferation of glory; and the rule he is to exercise on God's behalf becomes complicated by the creation's unwilling subjection, thus despoiling his capacity as God's priest-king.

62 Naturally, for man to be expelled from the manifest presence of God in the garden is to be severed from the fullness of glory he is designed to reveal and transmit to the world.

63 In the *L.A.E.*, Eve recounts the moment of her disobedience, saying, 'And at that very moment my eyes were opened and I knew that I was naked of the righteousness with which I had been clothed... I have been estranged from my glory with which I was clothed.' Eve then seduces Adam to eat, who also becomes estranged 'from the glory of God' (Grk 20:1–2, 21:4b–6). 3 Baruch claims that Adam's disobedience 'divested [Adam] of the glory of God' (4:16). The Qumran community anticipated the day when 'all the glory of Adam shall be theirs' (1QS 23). The apostle Paul, decried humanity's loss of primal glory (Rom 1:21–23). Also cf. *Genesis Rabbah* 1X.5; *Apoc. Adam*. 1:5–6; Irenaeus in *Against Heresies*, Bk 1, Ch. xxx, §9. See also several examples on p. 128 below.

His function in the earthly sphere was of paramount importance within the cosmic temple, for he was to function as prophet, priest, and king in order that, ultimately, God's effulgent and life-giving glory might be communicated and revealed through Adam and his progeny into the world at large. Adam's Spirit-insufflation and providential placement in the midst of the sanctuary-mountain underscores and qualifies the nature and conditions of Adam's task. As one infused and suffused by divine glory, Adam in the Creator's wise ordering of things is to be the principal operative mechanism—and, indeed, in an analogical sense, the mobile anthropic tabernacle—whereby the glory of God present in Eden is to be diffused, like the fructifying water of Eden itself, into the four corners of the earth. Adam's capacity to carry out this task, and thereby bless the world, is contingent on his obedience. Either Adam embraces the word of God as the source of his true wisdom/light/glory, thereby exhibiting a loving trust in his Creator, or his capacity to carry out his task will be stymied by the loss of glory/light on the one hand and/or the curse of death on the other. That Adam's disobedience disables him from carrying out his function in God's earthly temple is not only clear from later Second Temple literature that equates Adam's disobedience with a loss of glory and luminescence, but Adam's crippled capacity is also evident in the consequences of his sin. The glory of Adam is lost. Death begins to 'reign', even over the elect seed (Gen 4–5). Consequently, God's purposes for the world through Adam are jeopardized. The remainder of the Primeval History in Genesis 6–11 only intensifies the sense of humanity's tragic loss of glory and deadly fate as we witness the progeny of Noah end up at the 'temple' of Babel seeking to buffet their own name/glory instead of seeing the true God's glory diffused into the world. The result is an Adam-like ejection from a cultic centrepiece, a scattering now not of one couple but of all nations without glory and without unity.

Much of the language that clusters around memories of Adam and/or Adamic humanity in the literature just reviewed resurfaces in the prologue of the FG. As Adam was associated 'in the beginning' as a creature who was given life as the idol of God so that the 'light' and 'glory' of God might be diffused into the cosmic temple, provided Adam obeyed the 'word' of God, so do we encounter the language of 'life', 'light', and 'glory' in the context of the 'word of God' in the 'beginning' in the prologue. This warrants the suspicion that the FE intended to key into a similar field of vision.

4.3.2 *Israel*

Prior to exegeting the FE's prologue, I will attempt to show that the vocation of Adam as it intersects with temple theology is passed on to Abraham/Israel, and that Israel, at least in some expressions of Judaism in and around the Second

Temple period, understood itself in this fashion. This will enable me to make the fuller claim that Jesus is presented in the prologue as an Adam/Israel figure in fulfillment of the whole sweep of the scriptural story.

Fortunately, the basic idea that Abraham/Israel is characterized as a new Adam in Israel's traditions is now well established.⁶⁴ In short, besides a good representation of the idea that Israel constitutes a new Adam in a range of Second Temple and later Jewish works,⁶⁵ Israel is consistently presented as a new Adam in the Primary History, and some of its most legendary figures also appear to be deliberately presented as new Adams in concentrated forms. Besides Noah's own very clear stylization after Adam,⁶⁶ the deliberate stylization of Israel after Adam begins immediately with Abraham, when God promises to make Abraham's name great (cf. Gen 11:4; 12:2c), and when the commands to Adam to proliferate and rule are turned into promises for Abraham and his progeny.⁶⁷ Abraham will be fruitful and multiply, and will through his offspring be taken, like Adam, from the 'dust' of the desert with Israel and providentially 'placed' in a land⁶⁸ depicted as a paradisaal garden of Eden,⁶⁹ a land typified by

64 See, e.g., Gage 1984, 27–30; Wright 1993, 18–40; Clines 1997; R. Middleton 2006; Waltke 2007, 292–302, 305–11; Fee 2007, 513–29; Postell 2011, 32–42; and Beale 2011, 46–73.

65 See, e.g., references in Wright 1993, 24; Wright 1992, 1:262–68; and Postell 2011, 6–7.

66 This portrayal in the Genesis text is known well enough, as the above references will bear out. For Noah's Adamic portrayal in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see Peters 2008. Philo says that the period immediately following the deluge should be called 'the beginning of what we may call the second creation of mankind', because Noah, who was 'made according to the likeness and form of the true incorporeal entity . . . was found equal in honor to that creature who in the first instance was made as to his form in the likeness of himself' (QG 2 §56).

67 Cf. Gen 1:28; 12:2–3; 17:2, 6, 8; Gen 22:17–18; 26:4, 24; 28:3–4, 13–14. Wright comments: 'We could sum up this aspect of Genesis by saying: Abraham's children are God's true humanity, and their homeland is the new Eden' (Wright 1993, 22–3). See also Gage 1984, 29–30; Beale 2011, 623–5.

68 On the Second Temple belief that Adam as a prototype of Israel in the desert was taken from the 'dust' and 'placed' in Eden some time after his creation, see Postell 2011, 118. This interpretation of the Adam story is reflected in 4 *Ezra*: 'O sovereign Lord, did you not speak at the beginning when you formed the earth—and that without help—and commanded the dust and it gave you Adam, a lifeless body? Yet he was the workmanship of your hands, and you breathed into him the breath of life, and he was made alive in your presence. And you led him into the garden which your right hand had planted before the earth appeared' (23:4–8). See also the extended discussion of this theme in Fletcher-Louis 2002, 107–12; as well as an emphasis on Israel's Adam-like 'planting' in the DSS in Brooke 1999, 291–93.

69 See Gage 1984, 50–58; Postell 2011, 88–9.

fruitfulness⁷⁰ and the presence of God. It is in this context that Abraham and his progeny will be blessed by God to function as prophets, priests, and kings in order to mediate God's presence and rule not only to subdue their enemies, as Adam was to subdue the beasts, but for the blessing of the nations in the same way that Adam was to mediate God's presence and rule for the blessing of the whole created order.⁷¹ It is in consideration of data like this that Postell has recently argued that the entire Pentateuch, if not the entire Primary History (Gen–Kings), was carefully redacted into its final form during the Babylonian captivity in order to present Adam as Israel *in nuce* and Israel as Adam *in flore*.⁷² The particular goal of the exilic authors, argues Postell, especially in light of their similar ejections from the locus of God's presence and respective losses of 'glory', was eschatological: to prompt Israel to look forward to the 'last day' when there would arise a new Adamic figure, Israel's anointed Messiah. This is a point to which we will return. More importantly, we need to move beyond these general and by now fairly well-established correspondences between Adam and Israel to see the functioning of the temple within—or, as a meaning-laden story-pattern beneath—this theological anthropology.

Intriguingly, although seldom noticed, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob's sojourns into Canaan are accompanied in the Genesis narrative by what we might call proto-tabernacle or proto-temple building activities by Israel's proto-priests, a fact stressed by the author of *Jubilees*.⁷³ Within Genesis itself, these structures are connected to the patriarch's commissioning after the pattern of Adam. As Beale observes, 'the Adamic commission is repeated in direct connection with

70 Num 13:20; Lev 26:4; Deut 1:25; 7:13; Isa 4:2; 65:21; Ezek 34:27; 47:12. See Postell 2011, 98–9.

71 On this point, see R. Middleton 2006, 83–4; Herring 2008. It may be worthwhile to point out here that, although Israel is, as God's new humanity, corporately called a kingdom of priests and kings (Exo 19:6; Lev 19:2; Deut 7:6; 26:19; 28:9; Isa 61:6; 62:12; also in the NT; 1 Pet 2:5, 9; Rev 1:6; 5:10; 20:6), and although the roles of prophet, priest, and king are typically separated among different figureheads and groups in Israel, Israel's greatest patriarch Abraham is depicted, like Adam, as engaged in all these roles. 'Abraham is the patriarchal leader of a sizeable community, able to wage war (Gen 14:14–16), as well as a prophet (Gen 20:7) and cultic functionary (Gen 12:7, 8; 13:4, 18; 22:9)' (J. A. Davies 2011, 43). This synthesis of roles in Abraham restores him, Davies argues, to 'the full image bearing role of humanity' (J. A. Davies 2011, 43). As we will show below, both Joseph and Solomon are also portrayed in this sort of fully-enrolled Adamic fashion (see pp. 99, 103).

72 Postell 2011.

73 See discussion in Himmelfarb 1997, 91; and van Ruiten 1999, who emphasizes the eschatological aspect of these portrayals.

what looks like the building of small sanctuaries.⁷⁴ The significance of this altar-building is twofold. First, 'Israel's future land was dotted with shrines. This pilgrim-like activity "was like planting a flag and claiming the land" for God and Israel's future temple, where God would take up his permanent residence in the capital of that land'.⁷⁵ Second, in light of the patriarch's commissioning after Adam, it would seem that 'the patriarchs . . . have built these worship areas as impermanent, miniature forms of sanctuaries that symbolically represented the notion that their progeny were to spread out to subdue the earth from a divine sanctuary in fulfillment of the commission in Gen 1:26–28'.⁷⁶ In light of recent studies like that of Mark Smith which demonstrate that temples were conceived in antiquity as axis points between the divine and human and, therefore, as cosmically centrifugal wellsprings of fertility and life (i.e. they had the same role as the water flowing from Eden in the biblical story),⁷⁷ it may be suspected that the erection of 'proto-temples' by the Patriarchs—these figures who were specifically blessed (ברך), i.e. divinely empowered for fertility and life⁷⁸—may have been seen as emblematic of the reality of their own vocation.

The fact that there are exactly seven altars built by the patriarchs in the Genesis narrative,⁷⁹ a feature of the text not noted by Beale (nor anyone else insofar as I can tell), and the fact that this building climaxes in Jacob's building of the seventh and final altar at Bethel in response to the direct command of God, underscores Beale's thesis. Not only does this covert heptad highlight the importance of the altar-building activity in Genesis more generally, while also evincing a connection to the similarly commanded and heptadically-configured tabernacle and temple to follow, but its culmination in Jacob's

74 Beale 2011, 625. He continues: the passages relaying the patriarchs' building of these sanctuaries combine up to five elements, whereby '(1) God appears to them; (2) they "pitch a tent" (LXX: "tabernacle"); (3) on a mountain; (4) they build "altars" and worship God . . . [and] (5) the place where these activities occur often is located at "Bethel," meaning the "House of God"'. Furthermore, 'the combination of the five elements occurs elsewhere in the OT only in describing Israel's tabernacle or temple'.

75 Beale 2011, 626.

76 Beale 2011, 625.

77 M. S. Smith 2007.

78 See TWOT, 285.

79 At Shechem, by Abram (12:6–7); east of Bethel, by Abram (12:8); Hebron, by Abram (13:18); the region of Moriah, by Abraham (22:2–9); Beersheba, by Isaac (26:23–25); Shechem, by Jacob (33:18); and, finally, Bethel, by Jacob (35:1–7). It may also be significant that the construction of the altar at Moriah, where Isaac was nearly sacrificed and that later became identified with the Temple Mount, is the central construction.

altar at Bethel is highly suggestive—especially for this study in light of John 1:50.⁸⁰

Bethel was the place where God appeared to Jacob in a dream and that Jacob recognized as the *axis mundi*, the ‘gate of heaven’ (28:17c). God revealed the future to Jacob in which, essentially, God’s glory-filling purpose for the world that was to flow from Mount Eden, through Adam, and into the outer reaches of the temple is promised to occur in modified fashion in Jacob. Indeed, as the four-headed spring of Eden emblemized Adam’s own task to mediate God’s presence and life-giving rule to the world, so does God tell Jacob, with language that goes beyond what he told Abraham and Isaac, that his cascading descendants will spread quadrifariously into the world for its vivification: ‘Your descendants will . . . spread out to the west and to the east, to the north and to the south. All people on earth will be blessed through you and your offspring’ (28:14). This promise is ratified after Jacob builds the seventh altar at Bethel, the ‘House of God’ (cf. 35:1–15). In this text, God further promises that Jacob will father a ‘company of nations’ and ‘kings will come from him’ (35:11),⁸¹ a signal of forthcoming glory fulfilled in Jacob’s life through Joseph at the close of Genesis. As may be seen, Joseph, who repeatedly gains ascendancy in Egypt because ‘God was with him,’⁸² climactically sends for his father Jacob saying, ‘Report, therefore, to my father all my δόξα in Egypt’ (45:13 LXX). Intriguingly, this appellation of ‘glory’ (or ‘honour’) to Joseph is the final occurrence of only three occurrences of this noun in Genesis (in any forms).⁸³ Furthermore, there are some intriguing signs that the thick description and investiture of Joseph in Genesis 41 that precede this appellation of glory are designed to cast Joseph as a realized/restored Adam situated in an ironic new Eden from which he comes to rule and bless the world. This depiction is detectable in several features of the text that correspond to aspects of Genesis 1–3, along with later representations/interpretations of it.⁸⁴

80 On the significance of heptads in biblical and Jewish tradition, see the extended discussion in Chapter 6 below. On the heptadic nature of the tabernacle and temple buildings, see p. 141 below. On the critical importance of Bethel for later understandings of the Temple, see Hayward 2007, 397 and the discussion beginning on p. 297 below.

81 Cf. Gen 17:6, 16.

82 Gen 39:21; 39:23 (cf. Acts 7:9).

83 The other two are applied to what Jacob has taken from Laban’s household, whom Jacob has spent two sets of seven years serving, a glory that we are probably to understand that Joseph, by his own blessed presence and work, brought to the family (cf. 31:1, 16).

84 This feature of the Joseph narrative has not, as far as I know, been recognized. The reading is my own.

As may be seen, Joseph's movement from a 'pit' (רִיב/λάκκος) that is explicitly associated with dust, death, and the wilderness⁸⁵ to being designated as one in whom is 'the πνεῦμα of God'⁸⁶ mimics the initial movement of Adam in the second creation account; Adam is also lifted from the dust of death, presumably from a wilderness outside of Eden,⁸⁷ and infused with the πνοήν of God (Gen 2:7). Joseph's appointment as viceroy over Egypt along with his reception of Pharaoh's signet ring and kingly robes of glory are likewise analogous to Adam's appointment to rule in the image of God while vested, as later traditions understood it, in kingly and/or priestly robes of glory.⁸⁸ Further, Adam is implicitly called to exercise wisdom by not eating of the tree of the knowledge of 'good and evil' (καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν; 2:17), a task he fails at due to the superlative 'wisdom/prudence' (φρονιμώτατος) of the snake and the wiles of the woman. This vortex of circumstances leaves Adam stripped of his garments of glory and naked. Joseph, however, who has already stalwartly resisted the temptations of a woman to do evil (πονηρόν; 39:9)—and done so to the ironic point of being stripped of his garments and left naked (39:12–18)—is recognized by Pharaoh to be superlatively 'wise/prudent' (φρονιμώτατος) (41:33, 29). This rare word in Genesis LXX along with the superlative tagging,⁸⁹ applied only to Joseph here and to the serpent in the Garden (3:1), reinforce the sense of a connection.⁹⁰ In fact, it appears that Joseph's enduring wisdom and *un-Adam-like* resistance to the wiles of a woman, leads to his providential transplantation not only from a place of virtual exile and death to a spirit-filled designation, but from a place of exile and death to what would have been understood by most audiences as a new Eden and paradise on earth: that is to say, the 'house' (οἶκος) or 'temple'—of Pharaoh (41:40).⁹¹ The pattern between

85 Cf. Gen 37:20 ('Come now, let us kill him and throw him into one of the pits; then we shall say that a wild beast has devoured him'), v. 22 ('And Reuben said to them, "Shed no blood; cast him into this pit here in the wilderness [ἐρήμῳ]'), v. 24 ('The cistern was empty; there was no water in it'), v. 28–29; 40:15; 41:14. Also cf., Ps 28:1 in NETS ('I will be like those who are descending into the grave [בְּרִי]') and Ps 30:3 where בֵּית is placed in synonymous parallel with שְׁאוֹל (Sheol), the abode of the dead.

86 'Can we find anyone else like this—one in whom is the spirit (πνεῦμα) of God?', Pharaoh asks his entourage (Genesis 41:38).

87 See again n. 68 above.

88 See again p. 127 above.

89 Only used in 2:1; 41:33, 29.

90 While φρόνιμος is used in Gen 3:1, 41:33, 29, עָרִים occurs only in Genesis in 3:1 and 2:25 (where it means 'naked').

91 The idiom 'house' is used for God's tabernacle and temple throughout scripture; see Exod 23:19; 34:26; 40:38; 2 Sam 7:5; 1 Ki 7:51; Neh 10:36; Ps 69:9; Isa 6:4. Also see Sarna 1989,

Adam and Joseph comes full circle. As we may now articulate in full: just as Adam is elected as God's vice-regent, filled with the breath/Spirit of God, and placed in a paradisaal garden that couples as a holy of holies so that he may bring the glory of God's presence into the rest of God's cosmic temple for its beatitude, Joseph is recognized as filled with the Spirit of God and wisdom and thus placed as viceroy over Pharaoh's 'house', specifically *for* the benefit of the entire land of Egypt and, indeed, *unto* the benefit of the 'whole world', as the text stresses emphatically (41:40–1, 46–7).⁹²

Notably, Joseph's Adam-like glory and wisdom effectively transforms Pharaoh's house into a new Edenic temple of glory, ostensibly establishing or underscoring the priority of glorious people over and above the possibility

286; Waltke 2001b, 533; Hamilton 1995, 503–4. To be sure, that Pharaoh's 'house' would indeed have been understood as something of a paradisaal temple on earth is evident in the plethora of ANE texts that depict the potentate's temple-house as a 'symbol of the cosmos' (Walton 2009, 78), a navel of life and order for the world. Walton provides several examples of this conceptuality in his *The Lost World of Genesis* (Walton 2009, 78–80). One example that Walton does not cite, but is of interest, is found in an archival letter entitled "Praise of Pi-Ramessu" and is 'dated to the third regnal year of Merneptah, son and successor of Ramesses II (Dyn 19, ca. 1213–1203 BCE)' (COS, III, 15). In this text, the 'House of Ramesses' (the 'biblical Ramses') is said to be founded by Re himself, represented on earth by Ramesses (see Baines and Malek 2000, 212, 217). The description of Ramesses House, as relayed from one scribe to another, is principally hortensial, relaying the splendor and perfections of a well-stocked and jovial garden. Like Adam's first abode, Pharaoh's house is the centrifuge of life for the whole land, and Pharaoh, blessed by Re, is life's elect distributor.

- 92 "You shall be over my house, and all my people shall order themselves as you command; only as regards the throne will I be greater than you." And Pharaoh said to Joseph, "Behold, I have set you over all the land of Egypt" (Gen 41:40–41). That Joseph does indeed seem deliberately patterned after Adam here is reinforced by the narrator's concluding descriptions of Joseph's deeds in vv. 46–57, where his departure from 'Pharaoh's presence' is proceeded by the amassing of Edenesque bounties (cf. 41:47–49; 2:8–9, 16) over the course of seven good years (cf. 41:47; 2:2–3) followed by 'all the countries' in 'all the world' (πάσῃ τῇ γῇ) coming to Joseph to buy food' (41:57). Cf. the use of ἀπτος in Gen 41:54, 55 and 3:19, suggesting, perhaps, that Joseph, as a new Adam, is momentarily overturning the curse incepted by the first Adam. Also notice Joseph's claim of what may be taken as a God-given primacy over Pharaoh in 45:8: '[God] made me father to Pharaoh'. The phrase is disputed. Wenham thinks it is simply a gloss for 'chief advisor' (Wenham 1994, 2:428). Hamilton perceives it more hierarchically and analogically; it indicates 'one who stood in the relation of "father" to the king' (Hamilton 1995, 577). Waltke sees the designation intratextually, evincing a first fulfillment to God's promise that Abraham will be the 'father of many nations' (17:5). 'According to this spiritual interpretation, "father" designates a spiritual relationship' (Waltke 2001b, 260).

of glorious places.⁹³ Or to be more accurate, it would seem that glorious people have priority over glorious places in the earthly realm precisely because glorious people enable the establishment/continuation of glorious places.⁹⁴ Whatever the case, there is certainly sufficient warrant for believing that the Joseph and Adam stories have been affixed to the same story-pattern that roots anthropology and eschatology in temple theology, and that the whole of Genesis, therefore, has been framed to reinforce the message that what Adam was originally Israel was to be subsequently. The prime difference between Adam and Joseph, of course, is that Joseph succeeds in blessing the world from his ironically reconstituted 'paradise', whereas Adam fails from the real one. This makes Joseph an excellent candidate, as I will show in the next chapter, for christological re-presentation in the FG.⁹⁵ This conclusion about Joseph as a new Adam is further supported by (a) Joseph's suggestive naming,⁹⁶ (b) the dénouement of the story at the end of Genesis,⁹⁷ as well as the

93 The same dynamic is evident at Qumran. As those who have been purified and made wise by the law of God in the context of a true priesthood, the Qumran sectarians believe themselves to be a *miqdash Adam*, a 'sanctuary of adam/men', vested with of 'all the glory of Adam'. This will lead them, they believe, to inherit a *whole world* made new, the cosmic temple of God reminded. I will return this point below.

94 This appears to be the view presented in Genesis 2:1–7. The mist, which may be construed as a figure of God's Spirit or glory (see Fletcher-Louis 2004b, 79–80), is said to not come upon the earth to fructify it because man himself has not yet been created to work the garden. Here, too, the realization of ideal place is contingent on the presence of ideal man.

95 See pp. 300, 304 below.

96 In a culture where *nomen est omen* (see Sternberg 1985, 328–41), Joseph's naming seems significant. For as Genesis begins with God's blessing and command to Adam to 'be fruitful and multiply' in order that Adam may reveal God in the world, Joseph, who does bless and extend God's kingly reign on earth, becomes known by two names: 'Joseph', which means 'he adds, he increases' (BDB, 3997), and 'Zapheneth-paneah', which means 'God speaks, he lives' (Alter 1996, 24). Thus, in Joseph, we have an Israelite who embodies Adam's vocation *en nuce*: fruitfulness and the revelation of God to 'the whole world'. Tellingly the next Pharaoh's downfall begins because he 'knew not Joseph' (1:8, KJV), which in the view being promoted here is tantamount to saying 'he knew not (the revelation of the true) God'.

97 In contrast to Adam's defeat by evil because of his eating of the tree of the knowledge of 'good and evil' (καλὸν καὶ πονηρὸν // עֵץ הַטֹּב וְהָרָע), Genesis ends with the suggestion that Joseph has participated in a reversal of Adam's defeat, seeing evil triumphed by good: 'As for you, you meant evil (πονηρὰ // רָעָה) against me; but God meant it for good' (ἀγαθὰ // טוֹבָה 50:20)). It is certainly not hard to imagine the situational power of a message like this to those suffering under foreign oppression. By remaining faithful to Yahweh despite oppression and every sign of abandonment, the story may have been intended to encourage

representations of Joseph in (c) Jubilees,⁹⁸ (d) the Wisdom of Solomon,⁹⁹ and (e) Joseph and Aseneth.¹⁰⁰

The story of Israel as picked up with Moses and told in the rest of the Pentateuch and Primary History also replicates this foundational story-pattern, whilst bringing it to a climax in the kingship of Solomon. As is seen when the story is viewed from a satellite perspective, either in the Primary History or any variety of its retellings: After being delivered out of Egypt in a series of events that replicate the progress of Genesis 1, constituting Israel as a new creation of God,¹⁰¹ Israel is led into the desert. From the desert—traditionally understood as a wilderness of darkness, dust, and death¹⁰²—Israel is picked up and placed/planted by God in what, with her ‘Edenesque’ temple present,¹⁰³ could be considered a new Edenic promised land.¹⁰⁴ Significantly, Israel’s entire journey from Egypt to their settlement in the new Eden is punctuated by the presence and glory of God in temple terms. Israel is delivered out of Egypt to Sinai by the presence of God that is manifested as a $\sigma\tau\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omega$ of cloud by day and a $\sigma\tau\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omega$ of fire by night—for all intents and purposes, a glory-filled flying temple (Exod 13:21).¹⁰⁵ After exactly seven speeches are delivered

God’s people with the hope of likewise being elevated/restored to the place and dignity marked out for them as God’s true humanity.

- 98 The author of Jubilees sums up Joseph’s achievement in Egypt by intimating that Joseph has achieved what Adam failed to achieve: ‘And the land of Pharaoh was at peace before the Pharaoh on account of Joseph because the Lord was with him and gave him favor and mercy for all his family . . . And the kingdom of Pharaoh was upright. And there was *no Satan* and there was *no evil*’ (*Jub.* 40:9, emphasis mine).
- 99 Adam and Joseph’s lives are contrasted in the Wisdom of Solomon. Wisdom gave Adam ‘the strength to rule over all things’ despite ‘his own transgression’ (10:1, 2). It was Joseph, however, the ‘righteous man’, who Wisdom ‘rescued . . . from sin’ and did not abandon ‘until she had brought him the scepter of a kingdom and authority over those who ruled over him’. Consequently, however glorious Adam may have been, Wisdom ‘gave [Joseph] *everlasting glory* [$\delta\acute{\omicron}\xi\alpha\nu\ \alpha\iota\acute{\omega}\nu\iota\omicron\nu$]’ (10:13–14 NETS).
- 100 In *Jos. Asen.*, the once downtrodden but now elevated Joseph is presented with a host of glowing figures that may be intended to recall memories of an archetypal Adam (see *Jos. Asen.* ch. 6).
- 101 See Gage 1984, Chapter 3.
- 102 See Deut 8:15; Ps 107:33–36; Jer 2:6; Isa 50:2; Job 1:19. Also see discussion in J. R. Middleton and Walsh 1995, 156.
- 103 E.g., see Hurowitz 2007, 80–2; Waltke 2007, 460.
- 104 See, e.g., Isa 51:3; Ezek 36:35.
- 105 $\Sigma\tau\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ is an architectural term almost exclusively used in scripture and Jewish tradition with reference to temples, whether literally or metaphorically constituted. See TDNT, VII, 730–36.

by Moses that are intertextually connected with the seven days of creation in Genesis 1,¹⁰⁶ and after 'Bezalel son of Uri' is 'filled' (ἐνέπλησεν) with the πνεῦμα θεῖον and σοφίας (Exod 35:30–1; cf. Gen 2:7),¹⁰⁷ the tabernacle is constructed after the 'pattern' revealed to Moses (Exod 25:9).¹⁰⁸ This pattern doubtlessly reflects the macrocosmic archetype, with the inner sanctuary or holy of holies corresponding to Eden and the heavenly sanctuary alike.¹⁰⁹ Consequently, the tabernacle, for Israel, is dynamically—if not sacramentally—reflective and/or constitutive of the cosmos, even as Aaron and the high priesthood are modeled after the pattern of Adam, as later interpreters seemed to have understood.¹¹⁰ Climactically, the glory-cloud becomes identified with—and indeed translated into—the tabernacle (40:34–35). Finally, after being situated in the land and given 'rest' from her enemies on all sides (1 Ki 5:4; cf. Gen 2:2; 2 Chron 14:5, 6), Solomon—who like the tabernacle-builder Bezalel and the idealized prophet-priest-king Joseph before him is filled with an unmatched σοφίας¹¹¹—spends exactly seven years constructing Israel's temple (6:38).¹¹² Upon completion, as with the glory-cloud and tabernacle, so with tabernacle and temple: the 'cloud' (νεφέλη) that is here explicitly equated with the δόξα

106 See especially the discussion in Fletcher-Louis 2004b.

107 The notion that wisdom was present and active with God in creation and that wisdom was required to build the tabernacle or temples of the Lord is rooted in the idea that the temple and/or tabernacle are replicas of heaven. Thus, just as the cosmic temple was built and ordered by God's wisdom, so its microcosm could not be built apart from the agency of that same wisdom. This was as true for the Second Temple as for the tabernacle, first Temple, and creation of the cosmos itself (cf. e.g., 1 Esd 4:57–63).

108 The tabernacle must be completed as God commanded. See Exod 36:1, 5; 38:22; 39:1, 7, 21, 30; 40:16, 19, 21, 23, 25, 29, 32. In this way, the microcosm, like the macrocosm, is created by the 'word' and 'wisdom' of God.

109 Beale 2011, 626–32.

110 Josephus 'says of the tabernacle: "every one of these objects is intended to recall and represent the universe" (quoted in Walton 2009, 80). Also see Fletcher-Louis 2004a, 89–96.

111 1 Kgs 4:29–34. Cf. also 1 Chron 28:11–12 as translated by James Davila (2002, 8): 'And David gave to Solomon his son the plan (תבנית) of the vestibule and its houses, its treasures, its upper chambers and inner chambers, and the house of the propitiatory, and the plan of all that was with him by the Spirit (רוח עמו) אשר כל אשר היה ברוח עמו) for the courts of the house of YHWH'. Translating v. 12 with reference to 'the Spirit' instead of what 'was in his mind' (e.g., RSV, NIV) is entirely justified, argues Davila, because this would have been a Second Temple interpreter's inclination, as is clearly evident in the Targum of Chronicles, for example, where this meaning is made explicit.

112 Cf. 1 Chron 29:11–12 where David's prayer for the temple is comprised of 'two sets of sevenfold blessings' (Davila 2002, 12).

κυρίου ‘fills’ (ἐπλησεν) ‘the temple (τὸν οἶκον)’ (8:10).¹¹³ As the author of Jubilees understood, Zion thus becomes ‘the centre of the navel of the earth’ (Jub 8:19), a centrifuge of life for the world.¹¹⁴ Accordingly, Solomon, who is responsible for the building and first priestly officiation of this temple, is comprehensively presented by the biblical author as a new glory-filled Adam—prophet, priest, and king in one package—poised to bless the world.¹¹⁵

113 Cf. Psalm 29, which is staged in the temple in the Mss but for ‘the occasion of the solemn assembly of the Tabernacle’ in the LXX. This Psalm shows the thoroughgoing degree to which temple and tabernacle complexes for Israel were associated with the Creator and his glory. The repeated summons to ascribe ‘glory’ to the Lord (vv. 1–2) in the opening of this Psalm is followed by a reminiscence of the ‘God of glory’s’ (v. 3) sevenfold powerful ‘voice’ (vv. 3 [2×], 4, 5, 7, 8, 9). The seventh proclamation of the Lord’s ‘voice’, which immediately accomplishes what it intends, is followed by all in his temple crying ‘glory’ (v. 9). The Psalm concludes by conjoining Yahweh’s eternal kingship over the creation with Israel’s sure blessedness and shalom as his people. See comment in Craigie 2004, 247.

114 See also *Sib. Or.*, book 5; Ezek 5:5; 1 En 26:1–2.

115 Cf. the extensive treatments of Solomon as a new Adam in Beale 2011, 66–73; J. A. Davies 2011; and Postell 2011, 130–34. On a presentation of Solomon’s Adam-like wisdom and concomitant glory outside Kings, see especially Wis chs. 7 and 9. Within 1 Kings, it is interesting to note that once again, as in Genesis, δόξα is used sparingly. Even less than Genesis’ three uses, the last of which is climactically used in reference to Joseph who ends up presiding over Pharaoh’s ‘house’ and bringing blessing to the whole world (see p. 99 above), δόξα is only used in 1 Kings twice: in 3:12 with reference to Solomon, and a second time in 8:11 with reference to God’s filling the temple. The sense, again, is that as true man is filled with glory, so will God’s temple be filled with glory and realize its eschatological goal. The fact that Solomon is renowned for his superior, Adam-like wisdom and glory (δόξα) that enables him to rule and bless (1 Kgs 3:13), as all Israel is supposed to be known for (cf. Deut 4), is also telling (4:31b, 34). Solomon’s global reach is accompanied by the explicit recognition that God’s glorious presence in Israel through the temple is not for Israel alone; it is for the benefit of every ‘foreigner who does not belong to your people’ (1 Kgs 8:41). Solomon’s prayer, furthermore, is that when the scattered nations do hear and come to the temple in Israel, Yahweh will ‘hear in heaven, [his] dwelling place’ and ‘do whatever the foreigner asks of [him], so that all the people of earth may know [his] name and fear [him], as do[es] [his] own people Israel’ (1Ki 8:42–3; cf. v. 60). Agreeably, David’s final prayer in the Psalter (Ps 71[72]) is a prayer for Solomon’s blessedness. It foresees all the kings of the earth and Gentiles coming to bring Solomon gifts, worshiping him, and serving him to the point where ‘all the tribes of the earth will be blessed in him; all the nations will pronounce him happy [μακαρίζω]’ (v. 17b). Solomon will achieve this fame, we learn, because of his ethical rule from ‘sea to sea and from the river to the world’s limits’ (v. 8) on behalf of the Lord of glory [δόξα] (vv. 2–4, 12–14, 18–19). In short, Solomon will consummate Adam’s vocation, causing the glory and vivacity of God’s paradisaal presence to flood into all the world: ‘There will be sustenance in the land on the tops of the mountains; its fruit will surpass Lebanon, and they will blossom forth from a city like

Again, as with the promises to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob that first materialize in Joseph, the picture is of a new humanity situated amidst the glory of God in order that that glory might extend beyond Israel's borders, eventually filling the earth 'as the waters cover the sea'. Thus it may be seen that the span of the Primary History, like the span of Genesis itself, is characterized by this globalizing hope.¹¹⁶

But, again, we come to the emplotted lynchpin. As the entire sweep of the Pentateuch and Deuteronomistic History make unambiguously clear, the only way Israel can retain residence in her new Eden, centred on and diffusing the presence of God, is, like Adam, by way of obedience to the word of God as typified in the 'Law', the Sinaitic covenant.¹¹⁷ This word is Israel's 'life' and the signal condition upon which she will fulfill her Adamic role in the world, precisely because the word/Law received at Sinai is a manifestation of a primally-rooted world-changing 'wisdom', 'light', and/or 'life' for Israel.¹¹⁸ In short, it seems fair to conclude with scholars like N. T. Wright that Israel's Law was perceived in many Jewish circles as Israel's God-given 'map' or 'blueprint' for being and becoming truly human/Adamic again.¹¹⁹ That this was the Law's ultimate function is why, in all likelihood, it was said or shown to endow Israel

the grass of the field. . . . And the whole earth will be filled with [God's] glory' (vv. 16, 19b NETS).

- 116 As Beale says, "That this was Israel's ultimate task is apparent from a number of OT passages prophesying that God will finally cause the sacred precinct of Israel's temple to expand and first encompass Jerusalem (Isa 4:4–6; 54:2–3, 11–12; Jer 3:16–17; Zech 1:16–2:11), then the entire land of Israel (Ezek 37:25–28), and then the whole earth (Dan 2:34–5, 44–4; cf. Isa 54:2–3)" (Beale 2011, 631).
- 117 Psalm 50 [49] is explicit on this point, emphasizing that Israel does not glorify God precisely because of her sin, and her glory, as the opening two verses make clear is to 'shine out' from Zion.
- 118 This perspective of the Law and association of images is pervasive in Israel's scriptural and later traditions, and appears well accepted by scholars. For primary texts, see Ps 19; Prov 3; Jer 5:21–3; 4Q174 frg. 1, 11.6–7; 4 Macc 5:15–26; 1 En 3:1, 5:3–4; Wis Sol. 18:4; Sir 1.26; 6:37; 15:1; 33:2–3; 19:20; 2 Bar 17:4, 18:2, 19:1; 48:7–24; 54:13–16. For studies on these and other texts or books which present this picture of Israel's law, see O'Dowd 2009, 162–3; Wilkinson 2004; Waltke 2004, 31–6; Brooke 2007, 427; Berg 2013, 117, 119; Rogers 2004, 117; Gupta 2011, 293; Barton 1998, 66–8.
- 119 The 'crucial move', states Wright is that 'in the Intertestamental period *'Wisdom' was identified with Torah*. [Consequently,] those who possessed and tried to keep Torah were therefore the true humanity: it was they who would be exalted to the place where humanity belonged, under the creator and over the creation' (Wright 1992, 1:264–5). Cf. Wright 1993, 25–6; Fletcher-Louis 2002, 11–12; Watson 2004, 308; and Rogers 2004, who observes that for Sirach, 'obedience to God's law is in itself the hallmark of true wisdom (33.2–3).

with 'glory' (once again).¹²⁰ It is also likely why those few individuals who were wise and filled with glory were enabled in accord with the Law to build temples for God (again): microcosmic structures which enabled them to enact, in miniature, the task that the wise and glory-filled Adam was to enact on a macrocosmic scale.¹²¹

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- Sirach 19.20 expresses the relationship in categorical terms: 'The whole of wisdom is fear of the Lord; complete wisdom is the fulfilment of the Law' (Rogers 2004, 117, 119).
- 120 Moses at Sinai would seem to stand as a particularly 'bright' example of this fact! Moses who receives the Law for Israel on Sinai comes to resemble Adam due to his glorious encounter with God on the mountain. That Moses was understood this way in and around the first century is ably demonstrated by Bunta 2007. For more texts that insinuate that Israel, by the Law, recovers the glory of Adam, cf. Isa 42:1–8; Jer 6:1–17 (esp. vv. 7, 8, 11, 15–17); and 1Qsb 3:22–28 (as quoted in Martínez 1999, 316: 'May he set you as a glorious ornament in the midst of the holy ones').
- 121 Both Bezalel and Solomon are emblematic of this principle. For while God fills these men with 'wisdom' and/or 'glory', the glory of God only comes to fill his replicas via the *obedient participation* of these men who build according to the pattern they received, which is to say, the pattern outlined in the Law (see Exo 36:1; 38:22; 1Kings 6:1–38 and comments in Provan 1995, 66). The descriptions of these men in Exodus and Kings redound with echoes of Genesis 2–3. Bezalel is said to be 'filled' [מְלֵא / ἐνέπληγσα] with the Spirit of God [πνεῦμα θεῖον], with ability [חָכְמָה / σοφίας] and intelligence, with knowledge [דַּעַת / ἐπιστήμη] and all craftsmanship' (Exo 31:3; cf. 35:31; Gen 2:7–9). Solomon, too, who prays for God to give him 'an understanding mind' so that he may 'discern between good and evil' [לֵרַע / ὁ γὰρ ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακοῦ] (1 Kgs 3:9; cf. Gen 2:9, לֵרַע / ὁ γὰρ ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακοῦ) is said to overflow with 'wisdom' [חָכְמָה / σοφίαν] (see 1 Kgs 4:29–34). The pseudonymous Solomon in the Wisdom of Solomon reflects a similar understanding of the connection between law, wisdom, glory, spirit, and temple-building. For wisdom, says the author, is 'the breath of the power of God and an emanation of the pure glory of the Almighty'; it is also the 'word' by which the Creator 'formed human beings to rule over the world' (9:1–3). Consequently, wisdom not only endows Solomon with an Adam-like 'knowledge of the things that exist . . . the natures of the animals . . . varieties of plants and powers of roots' (vv. 17, 20; cf. Gen 2:19–20), but wisdom also guarantees Solomon's future 'glory' [δόξαν] among the nations' (8:10). This glory, we are immediately informed, is linked to Solomon's charge as the 'servant' of Yahweh to 'build a shrine on [God's] holy mountain, an altar in the city of [his] encamping, a copy of the holy tent that [he] prepared beforehand from the beginning' (v. 8). ¹ *Enoch's Animal Apocalypse* allows only two animals to 'become' human: Noah and Moses. It is only Noah and Moses who are seen fit to build temples: 'Then one of those four went to those snow-white bovids and taught (one of them) a secret: he was born a bovid but became a person; and he built for himself a big boat and dwelt upon it' (89:1a). 'I continued to see in that vision till that sheep [Moses] was transformed into a man and built a house for the Lord of the sheep, and placed that sheep in it. . . . That sheep who was leading them—the one who had become a man—departed from them . . .' (89:36, 38a).

The fact that Israel, like Adam, fails to take firm hold of God's word naturally leads to an Adam-like expulsion from the paradisaal land and declarations that Israel has lost her glory.¹²² This loss of glory, as we mentioned above, entails Israel's failure of vocation.¹²³ This is clear in Hosea, for whom Israel's infidelity and breaking God's Law (4:1–2, 6) leads to a curse against the land and all the Genesis-like creatures within it (v. 3).¹²⁴ God therefore promises to 'change [Israel's] glory [כְּבוֹד/δόξα] into shame' (v. 7; cf. Gen 2:25).¹²⁵ Jeremiah likewise captures this constellation of ideas when he envisions Israel's loss of 'glory (δόξα/כְּבוֹד)' (2:11) due to Israel's direct and repeated repudiation of God's word/law (Jer 2–3, 6:19) and dalliance with 'evil [רָעָה]' instead of 'good [טוֹב]' (4:22; cf. Gen 2:9; 3:4) as a tragedy not only for Israel alone, who is ejected from temple and land, but for the whole entire world. As with Adam, the loss of God's faithful image-bearer in the world¹²⁶ is a loss of God's life-giving power, revelation, and glory for the world. It is to cause a virtual return to the lifeless

122 On the prototypical nature of Adam's sin, see Hos 7:7–9; 1 Cor 15:22–6; 15:45–9; Rom 5:12–21. On Israel's expulsion from the paradisaal land, see J. A. Davies 2011, 43. On Israel's loss of glory, see e.g., Ps 78:59–62 ('When God heard . . . [he] delivered his power to captivity, his glory to the hand of the foe); 1 En 63:6–7 ('In those days . . . [the rich will say] . . . Light has vanished from before us and darkness has become our habitation forever and ever; because we [had not] . . . glorified the name of the Lord . . . nor glorified the Lord in all his creation'); T.Sol. 26:6–8 ('Solomon laments after falling into idolatry: "So the spirit of God [τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ] departed from me and from that day on my words became as idle talk. She convinced me to build temples of idols. As a result, I, wretched man that I am, carried out her advice and the glory of God [ἡ δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ] completely departed from me" [J. R. Greene 2012, 735]; Greene adds: 'Not only are "spirit of God" and "glory of God" syntactically parallel, the departure of the Holy Spirit from the temple builder recapitulates the departure of the glory from the temple building').

123 Solomon typifies this reality in his 'fall in 1 Kgs 11' which, as Postell detects, 'is likely patterned after Adam's fall in Genesis 3' (Postell 2011, 133). Jubilees envisions the same loss of glory, which leads the author to anticipate new glory: 'The actual Temple, like the actual creation, is deficient, it does not function as it should function. Therefore the author of *Jubilees* speaks about a restored Zion in a new creation. When he rewrites the story of Eden, he actually means to speak about a new Eden, a new creation, in which Zion will be restored' (van Ruiten 1999, 224).

124 The animals listed in Hosea 4:3 are those listed in Gen 1:20–8; 2:19–20.

125 Cf. Hos 2:3 'lest I strip her naked [עָרְוָה/γυμνήσῃ]', and Gen 2:25; 3:7, 10, 11.

126 Again, apparently parsed out as his prophet, priest, and king: 'I brought you into a plentiful land to enjoy its fruits and its good things. But when you came in you defiled my land . . . The *priests* did not say, 'Where is the LORD?' Those who handle the law did not know me; the *rulers* transgressed against me; the *prophets* prophesied by Baal, and went after things that do not profit' (Jer 2:7–8, emphasis mine).

conditions described in Gen 1:2, conditions uniquely described only in Genesis and Jeremiah by the syntagmatic phrase *תהו ובהו*:

I looked at the earth, and it was *תהו ובהו*; and at the heavens, and their light was gone. . . . I looked, and there were no people; every bird in the sky had flown away. I looked, and the fruitful land was a desert; all its towns lay in ruins before the LORD (Jer 4:23–26).¹²⁷

The essential message of Jeremiah is that when humanity stops functioning in the cosmos as it ought, humanity as well as the world that is dependent on humanity, become ‘un-created’. In the ‘functional ontology’, they cease to exist. Unquestionably, then, the fate of the world for Jeremiah is inextricably linked to the fidelity of elect human beings to their God-given role in the cosmos.

In sum, my analysis of the portrait of Israel in the Primary History, considered in tandem with contemporaneous and later traditions, establishes that Israel understood itself, at least in some strands of Judaism, to have been elected to function as God’s new image-bearing humanity after Adam. Israel’s function, like Adam, was to serve as prophet, priest, and king in the world in order that, ultimately, God’s life-giving glory might be communicated and revealed through Israel to the nations of the world. This vocation is intimately connected, as it was for Adam, to an axis mundi/temple type conceptuality. Israel, whether through the nation as a whole or select representatives, is centrally established amidst—or (as seen at Qumran) *as*—the temple or tabernacle glory of God on earth in order that God’s heavenly presence focalized in Israel might be diffused and revealed through them into the outermost reaches of the cosmic temple. Israel’s signal failure to embrace/adhere to the word/law/light/wisdom of God, however, entails her failure to accomplish this vocation. She is exiled from the good land as Adam is exiled from Eden. Her temple is destroyed and the glory departs.

4.3.3 *Synthesis: Outlining an Adam/Israel Schema, and Further Manifestations*

Having looked in some detail at both the Adam and Israel stories, we are now in a position to strip back the details and view the skeleton of the story-pattern

¹²⁷ A similar perspective and use of Gen 1:2 is discernible at Qumran, as Fletcher-Louis discusses with reference to 4Q504 fr. 8. ‘Given the use of the verb “to create (בָּרָא)” and language from Isaiah (40:7) that echoes the *tohuwabohu* of Genesis 1:2, the liturgy proclaims that humanity as it was originally intended is only present in Israel and that all other peoples are consigned to a state of pre-creation nothingness’ (Fletcher-Louis 2002, 94).

we have been tracing. In essence, five interconnected 'elements', 'themes', or 'frame images' animate the stories of Adam and Israel. Adding two unspoken dramatic elements (represented by parentheses) brings the number of themes to seven. It also better exposes the basic 'rise-and-fall' or chiasmic plot-structure inherent in these paralleled stories:¹²⁸

I. Adam

- A. Humanity/Adam is created/elected as God's presence and filled with 'breath/spirit/glory'
- B. So that, as humanity multiplies, God's presence/glory/name may fill the earth/cosmic temple
- C. But humanity/Adam must obey the word of God
 - X (Will humanity/Adam obey the word of God?)
- C'. Humanity/Adam does not obey the word of God
- B' Therefore, humanity/Adam loses glory and the cosmic temple is not filled with glory
- A' (The question or hope arises: Will God remedy this situation by electing a new human functionary?)

II. Israel

- A. Abraham/Israel is elected and variously situated amidst vessels of God's presence/glory; some individuals are also filled with 'spirit/glory'
- B. So that ultimately, as Israel multiplies, the nations may be blessed and eventually God's presence/glory may be encountered in Jerusalem and correspondingly fill the earth/cosmic temple
- C. But Israel must obey the word of God, especially as typified in the Law given at Sinai
 - X (Will Israel obey the word of God?)
- C' Israel does not obey the word of God
- B' Therefore, Israel and her leaders lose glory; the Spirit departs from the temple; the nations are not blessed; and the cosmic temple is not filled with glory
- A' (The question or hope arises: Will God remedy this situation again by electing another human functionary?)

128 On 'rise-and-fall' and 'zig-zag' patterns, see Zerubavel 2003.

Understandably, in light of Israel's repeated failures and consistent subjection to foreign rulers throughout the exilic and Second Temple period (a situation oftentimes credited to Israel's ongoing problem with sin),¹²⁹ many Jewish thinkers became pessimistic that (as I might put it) a simple reprisal of cycle **II** of the schema would recover Israel's lost glory and lead to a different result.¹³⁰ This is portrayed in *4 Ezra*, for example, where the author tracks human failure from Adam through David to his own day (3:4–27; cf. 7:116–118). All of God's new Adams have failed, according to Ezra, because none of them, as Moses instructed, have 'choose[n] for themselves life and live[d]' (*4 Ezra* 7:129). The reason they have not is because, 'the first Adam, burdened with an evil heart, transgressed and was overcome, as were also all who were descended from him. Thus the disease became permanent; the law was in the people's heart along with the evil root, but what was good departed, and the evil remained' (3:21–22).¹³¹ Consequently, as Adam lost glory from his face and became darkened, so does Israel: 'the faces of those who practiced self-control shall shine more than the stars, but our faces shall be blacker than darkness'. Nonetheless, for Esdras, God's creational purposes must be completed: 'This present world is not the end; the full glory does not abide in it' (7:112). Again, the belief that glory must fill the earth as the waters cover the sea abides and is inextricably linked to anthropological matters. The resolution spoken by God holds: despite the fact that Israel has sinned and none of the present generation will enter the promised land, the LORD promises, 'nevertheless—as I live, . . . all the earth shall be filled with the δόξα of the LORD' (Num 14:21).¹³²

Thus, to cycles **I** (Adam) and **II** (Israel) of the schema must be added a third manifestation, dealing with the expectation that:

129 'If the documents of the Second Temple age that deal with' Israel's dejected state are examined', notes Michael Stone, and especially with reference to losses surrounding the Temple, 'it becomes apparent that theodicy became the central issue. Israel's suffering was thought to be the result of sin; a punishment inflicted by God who covenanted with the nation' (Stone 1981, 196). Several examples are offered (see p. 197).

130 On the theme that the 'Second Temple is never able to emerge from the shadow of the disengagement of the glory', see Himmelfarb 1993, 13.

131 Cf. *2 Bar* 48:42–7; *2 Bar* 54:13–19.

132 God's resolution becomes the prayer of the Psalmist: 'Blessed be his glorious name for ever; may his δόξα fill the whole earth! Amen and Amen!' (Ps 72:19).

- III A. A new Adamic/Israel figure/community who is filled with 'spirit/glory/light' will arise
- B. So that God's glorifying purposes for Israel and his world may at last come to completion
- C. This figure *will* remain obedient
- D. And thus the glory-filling project *will* be completed; *Urzeit* conditions will return.

Seth Postell argues that it is precisely the indication of this sort of eschatological hope that accounts for the Primary History's ideological fine-tuning. Further, this aim makes the best sense of the role of Genesis 1–3 in relationship to the final form of the Pentateuch, Primary History, and scriptures of Israel *en large*:

When understood as the introduction to the Torah and to the Tanakh as a whole, Genesis 1–3 intentionally foreshadows Israel's failure to keep the Sinai Covenant as well as their exile from the Promised Land in order to point the reader to a future work of God in the "last days" . . . whereby God would rectify the human inclination by means of a circumcised heart (Deut 30:6). Moreover, the groundwork is also laid for the expectation of another "Adam" (another priest-king) to arise from among the people of Israel who will ultimately fulfill the creation mandate in the "last days." In other words, Genesis 1–3, when read as integrally related to the Pentateuch and Tanakh as a whole, *is not meant to encourage Israel to keep Sinai*; rather, it forthrightly admits that Israel did not (and will not) keep it, and therefore prepares the reader to wait expectantly in exile for a new work of God in the last days.¹³³

What exactly this work of God would look like, of course (i.e. what kind of temple will be erected, whether microcosmic or macrocosmic), or who exactly this new 'Adamic' priest-king was to be, was thought of differently in different exilic and post-exilic communities. Some believed that the future redeemer would be a prophet, and others a priest or king. Several others yet believed he would be a combination or conglomerate of several figures.¹³⁴ There was also disagreement as to whether the figure would be earthly or heavenly or

133 Postell 2011, 3–4. See also the similar conclusion from a Pauline perspective in Watson 2004, 167–9.

134 See Levenson 2011; Fletcher-Louis 2006, 162–8.

a combination thereof.¹³⁵ Nonetheless, despite these differences, the core lineaments of the theological anthropology as it links with temple theology traced in Adam and Israel (I and II), now transformed into a template of eschatological hope (i.e. cycle III), is inherent to a wide range of exilic and post-exilic texts.

Of particular interest here is the presence of this eschatologically-focused script in Isaiah, Ezekiel, Zechariah, the DSS, Sirach, Joseph and Aseneth, the Johannine Apocalypse, and 1 *Enoch's* Animal Apocalypse. The presence of this schema in any text would, of course, make it more likely that such a substructure of thought or 'immanent context' might be operating in the prologue of the FG. The presence of this schema in the texts just listed, however, make it doubly likely that such an immanent context might be operating in the prologue of the FG. This is true because of scholarly convictions that these works have either exerted influence on the FG (e.g. Isaiah, Ezekiel, Zechariah),¹³⁶ bear striking family resemblances to the FG (e.g. the Johannine Apocalypse),¹³⁷ or show overlap with the FG's prologue in a way that may exhibit shared traditions (e.g. Sirach, 1 *Enoch's* Animal Apocalypse).¹³⁸ Although extensive discussions could ensue at this point, only the barest treatment of these works is possible. My goal is simply to show how pervasive was the basic schema being proposed, and thus the increased probability that this schema could have been evoked by the FE's descriptions in the prologue and then shown to be fulfilled in the body of the Gospel.¹³⁹

135 See, e.g., Lesses 2011; Talbert 2011, Chapter 4.

136 E.g., see Williams 2000, 299; Williams 2005; Hurtado 2003, 349–407 *passim*; Manning 2004; Menken 1996, 167–85; Bynum 2012; Kubiś 2012.

137 See, e.g., Gage 2001.

138 Besides being hailed as 'the most important text in the corpus of Jewish literature from the Hellenistic and Roman periods' (George E. Nickelsburg, 1 *Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch* [Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001], p. 1, as quoted in Joseph 2013b, 8), 1 *Enoch's* potential influence on the prologue of the FG has been duly recognized, as has Sirach's, since Wisdom's seeking a home in 1 *En* 42:1–2, 93:6, and Sir 24 closely parallel the drama of the Logos in the prologue. On Sirach in the prologue, for example, see Ashton 2007, 503–4.

139 Besides the works about to be presented, see how the basic schema we are proposing appears to surface in various ways in a wide range of works/passages, including: (a) Psalms 120–34, 146–50 as discussed in Gillingham 2007. In Gillingham's judgment, these Psalms constitute collections and 'the overall impression is the importance of personal faith and trust in a God who will pour out blessing from Zion' (320). More specifically, 'The impression is that all creation is being called upon throughout Psalms 146–50, to make pilgrimage to Zion to see the presence of God there in all its fullness' (333). This is connected, she insists, with the view of 'David as the founder of the Temple

Second Isaiah: Although Israel, as God's only 'idol' and representative of 'glory' has worshipped idols and thus relinquished her responsibility in the world,¹⁴⁰ Isaiah foresees the *telos* of history as the renewal of God's macro-cosmic temple with a renewed Israel situated on a new Eden-like mountain or holy of holies, the new Jerusalem (Isa 65:17–23; cf. 51:3). It is from this locale that the glory of the LORD will be revealed to all the nations causing them to come and worship at the temple in Jerusalem (65:17–66:24; cf. Jer 3:17). The mysterious Servant of Yahweh, who is filled with God's 'Spirit' (42:1) and 'wisdom' (52:13) and who at least in functional terms 'embodies all that Israel was supposed to be', is the principal operative mechanism that leads to this fulfillment.¹⁴¹ Indeed, Isaiah's suffering servant—who knows 'the

[which] marks out the Temple as the focal point for the good life and future hope' (334). (b) The book of Tobit, as discussed by Knibb 2007: Knibb concludes that 'Tobit's vision is that scattered Israel will be regathered around a new Temple whereupon 'the nations in the whole world will all be connected and worship God in truth' (Tob 14:5–6a) (409). (c) Jubilees, as also discussed by Knibb 2007: Jubilees connects the Temple and its rebuilding with Israel's being a blessing, as seen in *Jub.* 1:5–18: 'I will transform them into a righteous plant with all my mind and all my soul. They will become a blessing, not a curse; they will become the head, not the tail. I will build my temple among them and will live with them...' (see Knibb 2007, 309–10). (d) 4 *Ezra*, and the discussion in Lichtenberger 1999; (e) *L.A.B.*, and the comments of Vogel 1999; and (f) rabbinic works, as discussed by Chance: 'The rabbis shared in the expectation that the nations would come to know God at Jerusalem. In Tanhuman one finds the statement of R. Johanan (d. 279 CE): "In the time to come God will make Jerusalem a mother-city for the whole world," as it is said, "And I will give them to thee as Daughters, though they be not of thy covenant"' (Chance 1988, 13–14). These examples could be multiplied. For some good synopses on various views of Israel and the temple throughout the Second Temple period, see Hammerton-Kelly 1970; Stone 1981; Rowland 1991; and Chance 1988, especially 6–10.

140 E.g., Isa 43:6b–7. But see especially MacDonald on this theme in Isa 40–48: 'Whilst the idols are chosen and created by the idol-fabricators, Israel is the choice and creation of YHWH. In the process of making an idol, the idol-fabricators are said to 'select' (בחר) some wood (40:20), a word that is used elsewhere by the prophet of Israel's election. The process of making the idol is described in great detail in Isa 44:9–20, ... In the verses that follow, the words used for the creation of the idol ... are used of Israel. In the act of new creation YHWH has *formed* Israel (vv. 21, 23); he is the one who has *done* a marvellous act of redemption (v. 23). ... Idol-fabricators take a dead tree and from a dead idol that cannot see or hear; YHWH takes dead Israel, who cannot see or hear, and forms new life ... the reason why Israel has had her eyes and ears opened is so that she can serve YHWH. Whilst the idol-fabricators cry to their gods, 'you are my god' (44:17), YHWH says to Israel 'you are my servant' (44:21)' (MacDonald 2007, 31). See further n. 141 below.

141 Routledge 2004, 199. 'What stands out in the Book of Isaiah, as the overarching purpose of God, is the revelation of his holiness and glory ... God's purpose in revealing his glory to

word' (49:2; 50:4), and 'has not been rebellious' (50:5)—will intercede for the transgressors (53:10–12). Accordingly, the Servant will bear Israel's sin (53:4–10), leading to a reversal of the effects of disobedience (Isa 53; cf. Gen 3, 9) and consummation of history (62:1–5; 65:17–66:24).¹⁴²

Ezekiel: Ezekiel opens with a vision of the heavenly temple set in contrast to the departure of God's glory from Israel's temple due to Israel's sin, and 'closes with the image of his glory's returning to the new one'.¹⁴³ Prior to the elaborate descriptions of Ezekiel's new temple and priesthood that occupy chapters 40–48, however, is an extended vision of how this renewal will come about via the renewal of God's Adam, *Israel*. As is portrayed in chapters 36–37: for the sake of revealing his name (i.e. glory) among the nations (see 36:20–23), the LORD will cleanse Israel with water, give them a new 'heart of flesh' (σαρκίνην), and fill them with the LORD's 'Spirit' (τὸ πνεῦμά μου) (vv. 24–27) in a reconstituted 'garden of Eden' (v. 35). As with the first Adam, Israel will be remade when the Spirit of the LORD hovers over the dust of Israel's dry bones and, by means of his generative word and pneumatic presence, 'make breath (πνεῦμα) enter' Israel until she is re-enfleshed and 'comes to life' (see 37:1–11).¹⁴⁴ According to the sweep of Ezekiel 36–48, therefore, it is this new insufflation of God's Spirit/breath in Israel, along with the reconstitution of her priesthood, that ultimately leads to a rebuilt temple and its corresponding insufflation/filling

Israel is that they, in turn, make God's glory known to the world (Isa 43:7; 49:3)' (Routledge 2004, 194, 195)—a vision that is only fulfilled towards the end of the book due to the work of the 'Servant' who 'embodies all that Israel was supposed to be' (Routledge 2004, 199). See also Middlemas 2007, 171, 182; Oswalt 2005.

142 Note how Isaiah (LXX) declares toward the climax of his work that in the day that the Lord's 'Spirit' (πνεῦμα) and 'words' (ῥήματα) finally remain on Israel (59:21) Israel can know that the 'light' (φῶς) and 'glory of the Lord' (ἡ δόξα κυρίου) has come upon them as a people enshrouded in 'darkness' (σκότος) (60:1, 2). Moreover, this new reception of God's Spirit and word will have telling effects: 'nations will come to [Israel's] light, and kings to the brightness of [her] dawn' (60:2).

143 Niditch 1986, 215. See also Chance 1988: 'Despite Ezekiel's vivid and harsh descriptions of Jerusalem's destruction, he offered consolation to the people surviving the Exile by speaking of their miraculous restoration to the land (see 20:42; 34:13; 36:34–5; 37:12, 14, 21). The eschatological program of Ezek 40–48 described a restored community centered around a new temple. To this new temple the glory of Yahweh would return (43:4, cf. 44:4) . . . Ezekiel ends his description of the restored community with the declaration that the city itself would be called "The LORD is there" (48:35)' (6). Also see Gese 1981, 54.

144 Notably, Ezekiel's prophesying to the bones makes them come together after the fashion of Eve's creation: 'bone to (its) bone' in the context of 'flesh' (37:7–8; cf. Gen 2:23).

(πλῆρης) with ‘the glory of the LORD’ (43:1–5).¹⁴⁵ Notably, Paul Joyce observes how Ezekiel ends not only by ‘emphasizing the location of the holy, but also [the] diffusing or spreading [of] it’ beyond the bounds of the holy of holies into the wider world.¹⁴⁶

Zechariah: If divided into two main sections (chs. 1–8, 9–14), as most scholars insist,¹⁴⁷ it may be seen that the eschatological schema we are tracing is also assumed and/or replayed in Zechariah in various ways in chapters 1–8 and 9–14. Following an opening reminder about the reason for Israel’s exile, for example—that is, their failure with reference to the LORD’s ‘words [λόγους]’ and ‘decrees [νόμιμά]’ (1:6)—Zechariah receives a series of eight visions/revelations from the LORD followed by a number of historical reports. These visions/reports are punctuated with the LORD’s promises to return to Jerusalem and rebuild his ‘house’ (1:16; 6:11–15; 8:1–10), making his δόξα surround the city and new paradisaal land (3:8–10; 8:11–12), to the effect that ‘[m]any nations will be joined with the LORD in that day’ (2:4, 5, 10, 11; 8:20–21, 23b).¹⁴⁸ This *telos* will be realized in conjunction with the cleansing and re-investiture of the High Priest Joshua (Ἰησοῦς) with ‘rich garments’ for service in the LORD’s ‘house’ (see 3:1–5). Zechariah 9–14 evinces a similar structure of thought, first profiling Israel’s king ‘gentle and riding on a donkey’ whose ‘rule will extend from sea to sea’ (9:9d, 10e–f; cf. John 12:12–19), and then climaxing with a final oracle wherein God promises that, after he pours out ‘a spirit/breath (πνεῦμα) of grace (χάριτος)’¹⁴⁹ (12:10) upon Israel, Israel will return to the Lord (12:10–14) and find that, as with the cascading waters of Eden and Ezekiel’s Temple (cf. Ezek 47), ‘a fountain will be opened . . . living water will flow out from Jerusalem, half to the eastern sea, and half to the western sea, in summer and in winter’ (13:1;

145 Niditch asks rhetorically: ‘Thus in chaps. 37–48 the larger pattern emerges: the creation of man, the carving out of the cosmic order, and the continued defining of that order. Is this not the constellation of motifs found in Gen 2:7–11:32? . . . The appearance of this pattern as a structural frame for the last eleven chapters of the Book of Ezekiel testifies to the staying power and formative capacity of traditional patterns, patterns of creation being among the most expressive and meaningful in Israelite literature’ (Niditch 1986, 223–4).

146 Joyce 2007, 160.

147 See Dillard and Longman III 1994, 429–32.

148 ‘The imagery is that . . . the entire city has become the dwelling place of God’ (Dillard and Longman III 1994, 434).

149 God’s bestowal of grace is associated in Psalm 84:11 with his bestowal of glory: ‘For the LORD God is a sun and shield; The LORD gives grace and glory (χάριν καὶ δόξαν); no good thing does He withhold from those who walk uprightly’ (NAS).

14:8; cf. John 7; 19:33–37). Time itself will change (14:6–7; cf. John 20:1),¹⁵⁰ and ‘there will no longer be a Canaanite [or merchant] in the house of the LORD Almighty’ (14:21b; John 2:16–22).¹⁵¹

DSS: As mentioned above, the Qumran community’s life together also appears to have been rooted in a priestly/temple/Adam theology. Crucially, despite the community’s believing themselves (in the absence of a physical temple) to be true priests who were filled with ‘all the glory of Adam’ and thus reconstituted by God as a sanctuary of Adam (*miqdash Adam*), the community nonetheless came to anticipate a future, non-interim, cosmic temple (re)created by the hands of God.¹⁵² According to Fletcher-Louis, it was precisely because the temple of Israel was, in a sacramental sense, a microcosm of the cosmic temple, that ‘the Temple service’ was thought by the sectarians ‘to complete creation and maintain the stability of the cosmos.’¹⁵³ Consequently, the community’s recovery of ‘all the glory of Adam’ by virtue of their study of Torah, and their corresponding officiation as the true Adamic priests, entailed the consummation of the cosmic temple with glory, just as it was supposed to do with primal Adam.¹⁵⁴ There is also some evidence that the *telos* of history

150 See discussion of John 20 and the nature of time in Chapter 6, p. 280 below.

151 On this ‘global scheme’ in Zechariah and its connections to the FG’s macrostructure, see Kubiś 2012, 486–7.

152 See Brooke 1999. As Brooke explains, in light of the community’s Adamic (cf. 4Q174, CD 3:12–4:4 4Q171 [Psalms Commentary]) and Edenic (cf. 1QH 16:4–7 and notion of ‘planting’) self-perception, ‘the community functioned without a temple because of its eschatological self-understanding’. Nonetheless, this self-understanding did not eclipse its vision of the future because ‘it viewed its worship as an *anticipation* of what would take place in Jerusalem at the end of days and beyond, at the time of the recreation of all things . . . [when] the whole of God’s purposes as set out in Eden would be reestablished’ (Brooke 1999, 297). In a more recent work, Brooke summarizes the community’s ten different uses of the term temple very helpfully: ‘There are several overlaps between the ten Temples, so that in the end the ten can be reduced to three: (1) the earthly Temple in various guises, none of which satisfies divine requirements; (2) heavenly worship which may provide several inklings of a heavenly Temple, but where the overarching significance is that its perfect plan will ultimately be revealed in an earthly counterpart in a new act of creation and (3) the community as temple and human anticipation of things to come, a *miqdash adam*’ (Brooke 2007, 417).

153 Fletcher-Louis 2004b, 69.

154 See Fletcher-Louis 2004b, 69; Fletcher-Louis 2002, 476. Also see the similar conclusion of Brooke 1999, 298: ‘The community’s view of the temple was not simply a matter of following those prophets and psalmists who had insisted that a pure heart was better than any sacrifice. Nor was it simply a matter of the spiritualisation of the cult, so that

will be reached for the sectarians in conjunction with the role of a messianic 'Man of Glory'.¹⁵⁵

Sirach: Fletcher-Louis has also made the fascinating, if complex, argument that an intratextual relationship exists between Sirach 24 and 50, which he takes to demonstrate Israel's cultic and Adamic identity with reference to the cosmos.¹⁵⁶ In short, in the dialectic struck between Sirach 24 and 50 in light of Genesis 1–3 and Exodus 25–40, the message is that if Israel is Adam *en large*, the High Priest is Adam *en nuce*; moreover, if the High Priest (and, by identification, Israel) is truly *gloriosi*, the cosmic temple will be truly *glorificavit*. History will reach its *telos*.¹⁵⁷

Joseph and Aseneth: As one follows the trajectory of this tale, it can be seen that in replacing her idols for a rebirth in the image of true humanity—and this explicitly after the pattern of Genesis 1 and 2—Aseneth makes a journey from a parody of paradise/Eden to the true one, to the effect that Aseneth and

the language of sacrifice or offering became entirely metaphorical. Nor was it simply a matter of substituting for the impure worship of the temple participation in the worship of the angels as the *Song of the Sabbath Sacrifice* might imply. It was all those things, but most importantly the community functioned without a temple because of its eschatological self-understanding. It viewed its worship as an anticipation of what would take place in Jerusalem at the end of days and beyond, at the time of the recreation of all things. At such a time there would be the realisation of no mere ideal, but the whole of God's purposes as set out in Eden would be reestablished. . . . The language of Eden and Adam was present in the tradition at every stand . . . Whereas at the outset with *Jubilees* Adam had been ordained and the community designated as priestly, in the end the whole community would become fully human, as God had originally intended for Adam' (Brooke 1999, 298).

155 See Fletcher-Louis 2002, 443, 445.

156 In 'The Cosmology of P and Theological Anthropology in the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sira' (2004). Cf. also his later and condensed articulation of this passage in Fletcher-Louis 2012, 133–4.

157 Cf. Otto Mulder 2003, 100–1, who also sees Simon's glory in Sir 50 connected to the 'glory of Adam' in Sir 49. Fletcher-Louis adds, 'Not only should "all the glory of Adam" be related to the cultic theology of Ben Sira, it should also now be read through the lens provided by 4Q504 frag. 8 where, again in a liturgical context, Adam possesses a glory which is then transferred to the true Israel. Here, and in Sirach, it is not simply a human "honour" or "dignity" that is in view, but a Glory which is God's own. The Qumran community believed then, that it was their vocation to fulfill the responsibility originally given to Adam to embody God's own Glory' (Fletcher-Louis 2004b, 97).

those identified with her essentially become Israel's true temple in the world, resulting in the promise of blessing for the world.¹⁵⁸

The Johannine Apocalypse: The Johannine Apocalypse climaxes with a vision of the new heavens and new earth that is coterminous with a new Jerusalem/Edenic holy of holies that shines with δόξα (cf. ch. 21; 22:2). The principal operative mechanism that leads to this consummation of history is the heavenly 'Son of Man' or 'Lamb of God', a figure who alone with the Creator is said to be worthy of δόξα (cf. 4:11; 5:12, 13b). The Lamb is at least in part found worthy because with his blood he has made people from all nations 'a kingdom and priests to serve our God, [who] will reign on the earth' (5:10).¹⁵⁹ In other words, it seems that the Lamb is deemed worthy of glory/honour because the Lamb redeems purposive history by redeeming humanity to fulfill the glory-filling task of Adam. The Lamb is later 'called Faithful and True (πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός) . . . the Word of God (ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ)' (19:11, 13; cf. John 1:1, 14), who along with the Lord God Almighty is the temple of God (21:22; cf. John 2:19–21).

The Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch (chs. 85–90): In a fascinating new work on this zoological retelling of Israel's history, Daniel C. Olson argues that the '*Animal Apocalypse* is an ambitious theological interpretation of human history through the lens of the Abrahamic covenant, setting forth an *Urzeit wird*

158 See, e.g., Jos.Asen. 2:11, 12 (cf. Gen 1:11); 2:9–14; 4:1 (cf. Gen 2:18, 20b–25); 4:1,2; cf. Gen 2:9; 8:4–7; 10:13; 11:7–9 (cf. Gen 3:1–13). Aseneth's re-creation, re-formation, and re-animation after the pattern of Genesis 1 and 2 is unmistakable in a surfeit of verbal and conceptual parallels that mark Joseph's prayer: Cf. Jos.Asen 8:8–9 and Gen 2:2–20; 2:7, 9; 3:22. Fittingly, Joseph's prayer for Aseneth's re-creation and reception of 'rest' after this pattern materializes after seven days (ch 10). On the eighth day, Aseneth prays for deliverance from the 'wild old lion'—i.e., the Serpent, the Devil (see comment in OTP II, 221, n.c2)—who 'persecutes' her (12:3–14). A figure who turns out to be Joseph's heavenly archetype (cf. 4:7; 5:4–6:8 and 14:1–17:9) renames Aseneth 'City of Refuge', because in you many nations will take refuge with the Lord God' (15:7). Aseneth's recreation into an Eden-worthy human continues (cf. 15:14; Gen 2:12) and, as the angel predicted, she then herself *becomes* a virtual 'City of Refuge' through whom 'the Lord God will reign as king . . . for ever and ever' and all peoples on earth will be blessed (19:9; see 18:5–19:9). Aseneth's virgin attendants will also become 'pillars' (στῦλοι) in Aseneth's City (once again, στῦλος is an architectural term that is almost exclusively used in scripture and Jewish tradition with reference to temples; see n. 105 above). See R. S. Kraemer 1998, 237, who concludes that 'the divine couple of Joseph and Aseneth restore the damage done by Adam and Eve, affording human beings a means to return to their original angelic state'.

159 The idiomatic rendering provided by William MacDonald in MIT is 'a kingdom populated by priests'.

Endzeit model that puts Eden-to-Isaac on one end and Jacob-to-Eden (regained) on the other'.¹⁶⁰ In essence, the tale moves from the dissolution of humanity after Adam and elect Jacob (the last patriarch) to the renewal of humanity who are reconstituted into a 'new house' of God—a new Jerusalem depicted as a new Eden.¹⁶¹ This glorious return to an Edenic state for all humanity is effected by the emergence of a true Israel who is, in fact, a true and better, synthetically apprehended, Jacob, Isaac, Abraham (i.e. Israel) and Adam.¹⁶² There is a possibility, Olson suggests, that this Adamic-Israel figure is also to be thought of as heavenly.¹⁶³ If true, then *1 Enoch* provides early precedent for the idea that the fulfilment of purposive history may come about via the participation of a fabulously complex and composite—heavenly and earthly, Adamic and Abrahamic—representative figure.

160 Olson 2013, 14.

161 As Olson writes, 'most scholars read this passage as indicating a universal return of all humanity to a single, Adamic state: that is, a state of primordial integrity, a state of original goodness' (Olson 2013, 19).

162 Olson 2013, 55; cf. 31. In essence, Olson argues, in showing that a snow-white bull plays a major role at the eschaton in finally populating God's 'house' with (and *only with*) snow-white lambs (i.e. true images of Adam/image-bearers of God), the telos of history is shown to be fulfilled through a new typological and synthetically apprehended *Adam-Israel* figure. As Olson puts it: 'When a white bull finally appears again, near the end of the allegory (90:37–38), he serves as the new patriarch of a reclaimed, transformed, common humanity in the same way that the mundane Jacob (89:12 "ram of the flock") became patriarch of the twelve tribes of Israel (twelve sheep). The original, Adamic line of white cattle is *resumed and improved* (no black or red cattle), making the entire period from the *earthly* Jacob/Israel until the advent of the *true Jacob/Israel something of a detour in history, a period of waiting for God's appointed time to arrive*. . . . The genuine offspring of Adam-through-Isaac is finally born, possessing the full dignity of that lost era and the power to rule (i.e. the large horns) (Olson 2013, 54–5, italics original). See also Joseph 2013b who, with a view toward the whole of *1 Enoch*, concludes: 'The Enoch tradition developed two distinctive eschatological redeemer figures: the 'son of man' figure from the Book of Parables, which transformed Dan 7:13's 'one like a son of man' and influenced the composition of Q, the synoptic Gospels, and *4 Ezra*; and a lesser-known messianic Adam figure from the Animal Apocalypse (*1 En* 85–90)' (12).

163 'A number of scholars have noted the similarity between the eschatological white bull and the closely contemporary "*Son of Man*" figure in Dan 7:13–14. There are indeed a number of suggested parallels. The white bull appears after a judgment scene very similar to the one in Daniel: In both cases, thrones are set up (Dan 7:9 // *1 En* 90:20), books are opened (Dan 7:10)' (Olson 2013, 29–30).

As may be seen from this brief survey, despite differences in details, these works commonly re-present the basic eschatological cycle we outlined (III). Namely, in light of Adam and/or Israel's loss of glory because of 'sin' and failure to be God's representatives in the world (e.g. cycles I and/or II), there is an expectation and/or envisaging of III:

- A. The election/creation/arrival of a new glory/spirit/breath-filled Adam/Israel figure or community (whether this is Isaiah's Servant, Ezekiel's new Adamic humanity; Zechariah's high priest Joshua, the Dead Sea Sect *as* a new Adamic humanity itself, *1 Enoch's* Adam-Israel figure, and the like),
- B. so that eschatological/Edenic blessing and/or new temples may come;
- C. the general problem of sin *is* dealt with (as with Ezekiel's cleansing and giving Israel a new heart of flesh and new Spirit) and/or the representative is or is promised to be faithful to God's word;
- D. and thus, the glory-filling of God's true humanity in and amidst the reality of various temples is either enabled to resume or is completed; Edenic conditions are regained.

It may now be demonstrated how the prologue of the FG evokes this schema. Although I will not foreground the schematic elements in any sort of mechanical way in Chapter 5, my fundamental proposal will be that the FE evokes cycles I and II (about Adam/humanity's and Israel's failures) in vv. 1–11 in order to announce the arrival of cycle III (about the advent of a truly glorious and obedient Adam/Israel) in vv. 14–18. Verses 12–13, I will argue, are exceptional insofar as they attempt to condition an understanding of cycles I and II.

An Argument for the Story-Patterning of the Prologue

Let us recognize that traditional oral forms persist in manuscripts not because they are merely useful, or charming... but because they continue to encode an immanent context, a referential background that deepens and complicates whatever more particular events occupy the foreground of a given work.¹

...

The prologue [of the FG] is oriented to the Old Testament tradition... and its movement toward the eschatological goal. The prologue is not dependent on various details of the Old Testament. It is related to the Old Testament itself, and the total conception of the prologue grew out of this tradition.²

∴

5.1 Introduction

Once again, the basic proposition of this chapter is that, in conjunction with the immanent context argued for in Chapter 4, vv. 1–13 retell the career of the Logos *asarkos* while highlighting the Logos' successive 'failures' to find a home in Adam, the world, and Israel (vv. 5, 10, 11). These rejections imply a failure by humanity of its vocation as the image-bearers and/or idols of God that is then shown to be answered in vv. 14–18 by the Logos *ensarkos*. Included in the FE's capacity to evoke this story, I will argue, is his ascription of 'logos', 'life', and 'light' language to Jesus, a cluster of associable ascriptions that serve to align Jesus in his pre-incarnate form with what could possibly have been understood

¹ Foley 1995a, 1182.

² Gese 1981 [1977], 222.

not only as a person but as a traditional, multi-dimensional character, akin to those found in oral traditional contexts.³

Naturally, our claim that the FE's Logos language is personal and may suggest memories of a traditional character must be addressed, since the background for the identity of FE's Logos has been the subject of endless dispute.⁴ Who or what is δ λόγος, and why does the FE use this multivocal term?

5.2 Preliminary Matter: The Logos—a Multi-Dimensional Character?

It is certainly significant that the FE begins the first half of the prologue, and then resumes the climactic second half of the prologue, with Logos language. The term δ λόγος is used three times in v. 1, 'by itself, without any attributes and without the usual accompanying genitive phrase, τοῦ θεοῦ. It seems to be a proper name'.⁵ The term is only used again in v. 14, and apparently again as a proper name, as is reinforced by the reference to the Logos as the person, Jesus Christ (v. 17). This suggests that the FE did not only have the Creator's creating and revealing speech-acts at the creation of the world along with wisdom traditions in mind in his descriptions of the Logos. It suggests that the FE is also thinking along similar lines, as a recipient of similarly complex Logos traditions, discussed at multiple points and with great interest in Philo of Alexandria.⁶ For even if the FE was not dependent on Philo in any way,⁷ and even if Philo did not ultimately think of his Logos as a personal being—although this continues to be a hotly and, it seems, increasingly disputed point⁸—it is certainly

3 See again p. 90 above.

4 Not least of all because of the enormous possible sources for determining its specific locus (or loci) of meaning. See the extensive survey in Phillips 2006, 73–142.

5 Waetjen 2005, 61.

6 Pace Bauckham 2007, 241; Lindars 1972, 40.

7 See some of the early and clarifying disputes over this question in R. D. Middleton 1938, 128; Argyle 1952; Wilson 1953.

8 See, for example, Barker 1991; P. G. Davis 1994, 491; Boyarin 2001, 250; and the recent discussion in Patterson 2012 (Chapter 5), who locates himself in the middle of the debate when he argues 'that Philo (sometimes) gives the Logos an independent, personal existence distinct from God' (Patterson 2012, 119). Also, consider the rejoinder of Boyarin to those who want to argue that the Logos and Memra were *not* independent beings from God but simply circumlocutionary names for maintaining the division between the transcendent God and his creation. These sorts of arguments, reasons Boyarin, are self-negating because: 'If the Memra is just a name that simply enables avoiding asserting that God himself has created . . . and thus preserves his absolute transcendence, then who, after all, did the actual creating, appearing,

clear that: (a) Philo was heir to Jewish traditions that believed heaven was well stocked with divine/quasi-divine and/or angelic figures;⁹ (b) Philo frequently wrote *as if* the Logos was a genuinely divine or angelic mediator figure with an existence independent from God's.¹⁰ There is nothing to say that the FE would not want to exploit and/or transpose these sorts of tendencies for his own Christological purposes.

The basic judgment of Johannine scholarship is that this is indeed what the FE was attempting to do.¹¹ The FE used Logos language in his prologue in order to evoke memories of Logos traditions and reassign them to Jesus.¹² Johannine scholarship has come to this conclusion in a general sense because, even if the FE was not directly dependent on Philo in any way, and even though core philosophical differences between Philo and the FE are manifest,¹³ it is nevertheless the case that: (a) the overlaps between the FE's and Philo's views of the Logos are too many to be coincidental;¹⁴ (b) the illuminative power of what

supporting, saving? . . . It follows then that the strongest reading of the Memra is that it is not a mere name, but an actual divine entity, or mediator' (Boyarin 2001, 255).

9 I will pick up this point momentarily.

10 As R. D. Middleton concedes: 'It cannot . . . be imagined that [Philo] really thought of the Logos or Logoi as being endowed with personality in the sense we understand it, much less with Divinity . . . [yet] his rather extravagant expressions at times seem to suggest the former, and do not go far from an approach to the latter' (R. D. Middleton 1938).

11 As suggested, for example, by R. D. Middleton 1938; Argyle 1952; Wilson 1953; Borgen 1972; Tobin 1990; Evans 1993, 101–14; Cox 2007, 228–9. Already in 1953 Dodd said: 'I conclude that the substance of a Logos-doctrine similar to that of Philo is present all through the gospel, and that the use of the actual term *λόγος* in the Prologue, in a sense corresponding to that doctrine, though it is unparalleled in the rest of the gospel, falls readily into place' (Dodd 1953, 279).

12 And maybe Memra traditions, as argued by Boyarin 2001; Ronning 2010; although dating of Memra traditions continues to be an issue, as indicated in the reviews of Ronning's work by Docherty 2011; and Williams 2011b.

13 It seems clear, for example, that, due to Philo's emphasis on and idealization of the Platonic world of forms, the idea that the 'Logos became flesh' would have been unthinkable. On this point, see Tobin 1990, 268.

14 See, for example, the parallels shown and conclusions drawn in Dodd 1953, 73; R. D. Middleton 1938; Argyle 1952; Hagner 1971; Borgen 1972; R. Williamson 1983; Tobin 1990; Evans 2005, 170; and Evans 1993, 100–14. This has been stated most forcefully by Argyle: 'So many resemblances and parallels cannot all be attributed to coincidence. Their cumulative force suggests that to deny a connection between the Johannine Logos conception and that of Philo would be to throw away a valuable clue to the understanding of the mind and thought of the fourth evangelist' (Argyle 1952, 386). This basic insight of Argyle's is not contested, even though the nature of the connection (whether literary or shared traditions) is disputed. Says Tobin: 'While one cannot argue that the author of the

Philo says about the Logos when one applies them to the FG is too great to overlook;¹⁵ and (c) explanations about the FE's likely motive for keying into a figure like Philo's Logos are far too satisfying to dismiss.

For example, to pick up on (c), in addition to insinuating a real personal presence creatively and communicatively active 'with God' in 'the beginning' and throughout Israel's history as an anarthrous or 'second' *θεός*,¹⁶ Philo's Logos is a synthetic centrepiece of first century Jewish (and perhaps Hellenistic) mediatorial theology. 'Philo's Logos is neither just the Wisdom, the *חֵכֶם* of the Bible, nor is it quite the Stoic nor Platonic Logos, nor yet just the divine Word, the *דְּבַר* of the Hebrew, either, but some unique and new synthesis of all of these'.¹⁷ Thus it follows that although the prologue can and should be read intelligibly with the assumption that *ὁ λόγος* refers to the OT mediatorial notion of 'the word of God' at creation, later manifested in the Law and through the Prophets,¹⁸ a word which was thought of as 'light' and 'life' and having 'a kind of substantive existence of its own';¹⁹ and although the prologue can and should be read intelligibly with the assumption that *ὁ λόγος* refers to the Wisdom tradition's *σοφία*, which was frequently equated with the 'word' or 'Torah', and understood as a giver of 'life' and 'light' to the world, and envisaged to be present with God at creation as something of a hypostasis of God;²⁰ Philo's Logos presents us with a synthetic picture of the Logos that subsumes these meanings within itself while also going in important directions beyond them.²¹ In particular, Philo's

hymn in the prologue had read Philo, it is difficult to imagine that the two are not part of the same Hellenistic Jewish tradition of interpretation and speculation' (Tobin 1990, 255). Evans' own conclusion is that 'scholars have *always* pointed to important parallels between Philo's uses of the *logos* and that found in the Johannine Prologue' (Evans 1993, 100, emphasis mine). Further, Philo, along with the biblical materials and Wisdom tradition, all 'predate the Johannine Prologue' and, in Evans' judgment, 'provide all of the essential background necessary to understand the Johannine Prologue' (Evans 1993, 112).

15 See, e.g., Dodd 1953, 54–73.

16 See Dodd 1953, 71–2.

17 Dodd 1953, 276–7. For Philo's marrying of wisdom with Logos, see *Leg.* 1.65; *Her.* 191; Som 2.242–5. Also see Tobin 1990, *passim*.

18 Dodd 1953, 263–85 *passim*; Waetjen 2005, 61–3.

19 Dodd 1953, 264, 279.

20 See the fine summary of wisdom's attributes along these lines in Steenburg 1990, 101.

21 As Dodd says, 'The ambiguity which (from our point of view) enters into the Johannine conception of the logos could be understood if we assumed that the author started from the Jewish idea of the Torah as being at once the Word of God and the divine Wisdom manifested in creation, and found, under the guidance of Hellenistic Jewish thought similar to that of Philo, an appropriate Greek expression which fittingly combined both ideas' (Dodd 1953, 278).

Logos, which is equally depicted as active at creation and paralleled with wisdom, is not only personalized but anthropomorphized. This is especially evident, for example, in those places where the Logos is called the 'ἄνθρωπος after God's image' (*Conf.* 28 §146), 'God's first-born son' (*Conf.* 14 §62–63; 28 §146–47), and the like.²² In short, the Logos, for Philo, is a complex, composite figure/idea that, while doubtlessly transcendent, is also frequently described in ways that suggest some sort of heavenly anthropomorph.

The Logos' anthropomorphic qualities may well explain the FE's attraction to Logos language. As Evans and Tobin suggest, such a figure may have furnished the FE with an important bridge from the idea that θεός ἦν ὁ λόγος to the idea that ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο.²³ Even more, as suggested in the introduction to this section, there seems to a growing body of evidence indicating that Philo's Logos doctrine may have been thought of and experienced as more than a doctrine. Philo's Logos may have been thought of as something of a multidimensional character.

Despite Philo's (at times) staggering complexity,²⁴ and despite an enervating inability to sink all his descriptions of the Logos like an eight-ball into one corner pocket,²⁵ the Logos in Philo is nonetheless consistently furnished with personal attributes, spoken about as independent from God, and, on the whole, portrayed as a transcendent 'heavenly man'.²⁶ Furthermore, this portrait of the Logos in Philo is only a smaller part of a much larger traditional picture. This is to say, whoever may have been indebted to Philo is one question, but it must be understood that Philo was indebted to his own set of Jewish predecessors,²⁷

22 See Evans 1993, 103. More on this below.

23 See Evans 1993, 113. Says Tobin: 'A tradition of interpretation in which the logos was identified with the figure of the heavenly man does make the identification of the logos with a particular man more understandable within such a tradition of interpretation. The identification of the logos with the heavenly man of Gen 1.27 provides the middle term, if you will, between the logos and Jesus of Nazareth: logos—heavenly man—particular man (Jesus of Nazareth)' (Tobin 1990, 267).

24 The present Philonic novice was deeply comforted after spending vast amounts of time trying to understand Philo's Logos to read the encyclopaedic Dodd's judgment that 'the nature of the Logos and its relations with God, man and the universe is the subject of endless disquisitions in Philo's writings . . . [and] incredibly complicated' (Dodd 1953, 67).

25 As Chester observes: 'What we have to accept, then, is that Philo is not fully consistent . . . and that specifically he conceives of the Logos differently on different occasions' (Chester 2007, 48).

26 Barrett summarizes Philo's conception of the Logos, saying: 'The ideal world, of which the phenomenal world is but a copy, can be called ὁ θεοῦ λόγος' (*Op.* 24f); but particularly the Logos is the ideal, primal Man, the image of God from whom spring and decline all empirical men' (Barrett 1955, 128). Cf. also Tobin 1990, 161.

27 This is now well accepted. See comments and references in n. 35 below.

and not least of all to Jewish apocalyptic mysticism.²⁸ Philo's indebtedness to Jewish mysticism in particular, may be seen in the degree to which Philo's more personalized depictions of his 'Logos' dovetail with apocalyptic visions of figures who embody the anthropomorphic glory of God as found in texts like Ezek 1:26–28; 1 En 14:18–23; 2 En 22:1–6; 39:2–8.²⁹ As Jody Barnard has demonstrated in his monograph on *The Mysticism of Hebrews* (2012), such anthropomorphized figures are typically located in the throne-room of God and variously depicted (as Jesus is summatively depicted in Hebrews 1:3–4) as the 'divine Name-bearing enthroned Glory of God'.³⁰ These figures make the invisible God visible.³¹ Additionally, these luminous, men-like figures are clearly mediatorial.³² As even a cursory glance at Philo's characterizations of the Logos will confirm, and as our exposition of the prologue below will further support, there is some salient overlap here.³³ This seems to warrant the supposition, at least for heuristic purposes, that the Logos could have functioned for ancient audiences as of *bona fide* traditional character.

The usefulness of characters like these was precisely in their evocative potential. As discussed in Chapter 3 above, traditionally embedded characters like these do not simply evoke singular texts or fossilized moments, but, as John Miles Foley insists, in traditional environments the evocation of such figures summon 'actor[s] in composite drama[s] much larger and more involved than any single scene[s]'.³⁴ Indeed, characters like these summon up worlds of integrated thought.

The question, therefore, is: if it can be legitimately suspected that the FE is summoning up a complex Logos figure that fits (or could be fit) as an

28 This was suggested as early as Borgen 1972. See n. 36 below.

29 See Barnard 2012, 154–7 and the judgment of Gieschen: 'It is indisputable that OT angelomorphic traditions served an important role in the development and expression of Philo's Word' (Gieschen 1998, 112).

30 Barnard 2012, 149.

31 Barnard 2012, 154–6.

32 With reference to 'the specific motif of God giving his Name to another', for example, and after a survey of divine/angelic figures like Iaoel, the angel Israel, and Metatron, Barnard concludes that 'the evidence of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* and the *Prayer of Joseph*, which is reiterated in 3 *Enoch*, suggests that it was a topic of some interest within the context of early Jewish mysticism, and was a means of establishing a pre-eminent status within the heavenly hierarchy. He who possessed the Name was God's principal and most reliable representative' (Barnard 2012, 169).

33 See, e.g., *Somn.* 1.228–239; *Cher.* 1–3; where the Logos is described as an 'angel of the Lord'; and *Conf.* 146; *Ebr.* 31; *Leg.* 1.43, 45–6; where he is described by many 'names', identified with 'wisdom', and given archetypal status.

34 Foley 1991, 19.

actor in some sort of larger drama, then how might this Logos character be understood?

The FE will of course contour his picture of the Logos in the way that he desires. Yet, in an article that touches on this subject, Margaret Barker makes the important (and now well-accepted) point that Philo's conception of the Logos is not derived from Plato or Middle Platonism and impersonal Greek categories of thought. Rather, Philo's Logos represents Philo's attempt, as in so much of his work, to transpose much older and highly distinctive Israelite/Jewish lore/theology into Greek categories of thought, and likely for apologetic purposes.³⁵ In particular, Barker argues that Philo's complex Logos figure is his attempt to place longstanding and progressively synthesized Great Angel/Angel of the Lord and personified Wisdom traditions into Greek dress. Furthermore, these figures themselves are to be understood on the backdrop of a two-sphere, mutually interpenetrating universe distinctively conceptualized in macrocosmic temple terms.³⁶ Even more intriguingly, there is sufficient evidence, suggests Barker, that Philo's Logos was conceived, in attunement with the 'highly developed system of heavenly counterparts' witnessed in a variety of Jewish literature,³⁷ as the heavenly counterpart to earthly Adam and Israel, called upon as the chief among the angels to be Israel's principal divine/angelic helper.³⁸ Collateral support for Barker's thesis may be seen in David

35 Barker 1991. As stated, this is now a fairly standard assessment of Philo's aim. Cf. comments in Morris 1971, 121; Wedderburn 1973, 325–26; Tobin 1990, 254; Bockmuehl 1997; Gieschen 1998, 107–10; Gupta 2011, 292 n. 35; and perhaps especially the comment of Edwards 1995, 264: 'If it be thought tendentious to reckon Philo as a Jew, it would be even more tendentious to enroll him in the calendar of philosophy under the constellation of Middle Platonism. There was never a school of Middle Platonism, as there were schools of Neoplatonism . . . All the admitted Platonists whose work survives in quantity were born after Philo's death, and, even where they coincide with him in thought or language, we cannot deduce immediately that they point to Philo's model. It is possible that Philo's own conjectures found their way into the schools of Apamea or Alexandria . . . In cases like the present, where [Philo] has both Biblical precedent and orthodox Jewish comment to support him, we should not call Philo a Platonist (or even a Pythagorean), but take him at his own word as a pious intellectual, who expressed in Greek the spirit of a Jew'.

36 See also the earlier determination of Borgen that in much of Philo's thought Philo may be seen to 'rework common Jewish traditions, amongst other ways, *within Jewish mysticism*' (Borgen 1972, 120, emphasis mine). See also Borgen 1968 and the recent article of Gupta 2011, who suggests that temple imagery may by and large account for the overarching coherence of Philo's thought.

37 Barker 1991, 85. On counterparts, see also Stone 1981, 199.

38 Barker 1991, 73.

Steenburg's remarkable observation that in Philo's Logos the characteristics elsewhere uniquely described of Wisdom,³⁹ and the characteristics elsewhere uniquely attributed to Adam⁴⁰ are *combined*. This suggests that, for Philo (and, again, at least some of the time),⁴¹ the Logos could be conceptualized as some sort of transcendent Adam/Israel.⁴²

While a full discussion and defence of this idea is well beyond the scope of the present work, the immediate plausibility of this idea may be seen in a comparison of the titles and ascriptions used of Philo's Logos and Adam/Israel respectively. For like Adam and Israel, as argued in Chapter 4, Philo's Logos is fundamentally conceived of as an image-bearing Priest-King in God's heavenly temple, charged with priestly, kingly, and revelatory duties within that sphere. Despite his preexistence and 'second god' status, he is also, as earthly Adam/Israel and/or their priestly representatives, explicitly said to be: (a) 'after God's image', (b) an emanation of 'God's glory', (c) the 'Name of God', (d) like a human or 'son of man' in appearance, and (e) called by various names like 'Son of God', 'Only Begotten', God's 'firstborn', God's 'covenant', and even 'he that sees'—i.e., 'Israel'.⁴³

J. Z. Smith detects cognizance of this sort of mirroring relationship between a principal angelic figure and earthly Israel in *The Prayer of Joseph*. In this text, the heavenly figure 'Israel', like Philo's Logos,⁴⁴ is described as earthly 'Jacob's' transcendent alter ego: 'In the Prayer of Joseph, Israel is called "firstborn," and

39 Namely, preexistence, companionship with God, presence at creation, sustaining creation, teaching and revealing. See Steenburg 1990, 101–2.

40 Namely, kingship, superiority over every created thing, perfect symbol of cosmos, worthy of worship. See Steenburg 1990, 102–3.

41 'Philo, of course, is not strictly systematic and one could not argue that he had one integral *logos* concept' (Steenburg 1990, 104).

42 'Philo demonstrates the integration of the two themes in his Logos concept. . . . The Logos is the man made in the image of God as distinct from the moulded man, Adam (*Quaest. Ge.* 1.4). Elsewhere the Logos is described as the heavenly man, the true father of men, who is one of the two men put in Eden and called the father of the virtuous (*Leg.* 1.31, 53). In light of the relative absence of the 'image of God' motif in Wisdom speculation apart from Philo's works, it seems that Philo's use of the motif does not reflect an inner development of the Logos for Wisdom themes but rather a synthesis of Wisdom and Adam themes' (Steenburg 1990, 104–5).

43 See, e.g., *Conf.* 137; 146; *Somn.* 1.215; 2.237; *Fug.* 100–1, 112, 118; *Migr.* 181.

44 'In *De confusion linguarum* 146, Philo writes of the Logos: "God's firstborn, the Logos, who holds the eldership among the angels, an archangel as it were. And many names are his for he is called the Beginning, and the Name of God, and His Word, and the Man after His Image and He that Sees, that is to say, Israel"' (OTP II, 701).

“archangel,” and a “man seeing God”; and his role as “the Beginning” and his “eldership” is clearly implied.⁴⁵ The same conceptuality of a heavenly Israel figure is also evident, notes Smith, in ‘the Coptic Gnostic treatise *On the Creation of the World*, which depicts, standing before the heavenly throne, amid the angels and next to Sabaoth, “a firstborn whose name is Israel, the one who sees God”’.⁴⁶ Andrew Chester has also drawn more recent attention to these parallels. He judges ‘that the portrayal of the Logos in *Conf.* 146 as the archangel, he that sees, Israel . . . belongs within a powerful and highly developed angelic tradition’. Philo’s descriptions ‘cannot . . . be explained away as simply a means of referring to God, or ‘God in his self-revelation’. That completely fails to grasp the significance of what we have here’. Further, the fact that some ‘texts in Philo speak of λόγοι and ἄγγελοι in the plural’ does not ‘diminish the significance of the logos as an angel, or indeed archangel, but in fact enhance it, since it becomes clear that Philo thinks, *inter alia*, of the Logos as *the* (one, supreme) angel or archangel’.⁴⁷

Thus, for Philo and other writers in the first century, there seems to have been space for thinking (or envisioning) that what the Logos, as something of an all-wise, image-bearing and glorious figure in God’s heavenly Temple, was ‘above’, elected among other things as a principal or chief angel to reveal God and help Israel, Adam/Israel was ‘below’, vis-à-vis the nations of the earth.⁴⁸

It is of course impossible to prove that the FE thought about his own Logos within the exact framework outlined in the last few paragraphs, and I am not suggesting that the FE would have re-presented Logos traditions without synthesizing it with other concepts and/or adding his own major Christological alterations.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, the fact that the FE: (a) uses Logos language at

45 OTP II, 701.

46 OTP II, 702.

47 Chester 2007, 47–8. For what appears to be a parallel understanding of Jesus in the NT, see 2 Thess 1:7 where Jesus is said to be the leader of a band of ‘his mighty angels’. Also see Clement, *First Epist. Cor.*, Ch. XXIX 117–18: ‘For thus it is written, “When the Most High divided the nations, when He scattered the sons of Adam, He fixed the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God. His people Jacob became the portion of the Lord, and Israel the lot of His inheritance”’.

48 This may explain the thoroughgoing association of wisdom and Adam in many texts. See Beale 2011, 66–8.

49 The warning of Chester is sound: ‘It is not the case, however, that earliest Christology can be explained by a simple correlation between Jesus and any one of these figures. Nor is it possible to see a straightforward causal connection leading from these kinds of Jewish figures to exalted portrayals of Christ. The traditions about these Jewish figures do,

all instead of what would have been a more natural Sophia language,⁵⁰ and (b) conceived of Jesus, his Logos, as a preexistent, heavenly figure acting in a two sphere cosmology as one sent by God from 'above' to 'below' to reveal God and work on behalf of Israel and the world prior to returning to the heavenly sphere, is a good first sign that the FE is operating in and, indeed, *making the most of*, a similar field of thought.⁵¹ Additional presentations of Jesus either in the prologue and/or in the body of the Gospel that associate him with the 'glory' or 'name' of God, the Danielic 'Son of Man', and temple theology add to the sense that a fairly well developed Logos character as it merges with or aims to condition anthropomorphic Glory of God traditions might be operating in the background. Other scholars have also postulated a Jesus-as Israel's-alter-ego background for the FG.⁵²

However one aims to reconstruct this complex background, what is clear, in any event, and what may be shown here, is the degree to which this idea of a Logos character akin to what we find glimpses of in Philo (and elsewhere)⁵³ appears to fit in with and meaningfully condition the (alleged) story of Adam and Israel being retold in the prologue. Having said this, it is once again humbly acknowledged that, in accordance with the nature of the subject matter before us—which as a covert art is intrinsically shadowy—the argument to be made here is best viewed as an exploration in relative probability, not in providing knockdown proofs. Again, the principal criterion is the sensibility of the proposal in light of what 'countless things' can be known about the author, audience, and text of the FG.

however, show them mediating and moving between the heavenly and earthly, and divine and human spheres' (Chester 2007, 119).

50 Sophia language would have been more natural it seems in light of how the prologue's descriptions of the Logos align with traditional descriptions of wisdom found in texts like Prov 8:22–30; Sirach 24; Wis 7; 1 En. 42; 93.

51 As Boyarin has said, once one aligns the Logos and Sophia concepts with the variety of conceptions of mediator figures, one finds that 'it is at least possible that the beginning of trinitarian reflection was precisely in non-Christian Jewish accounts of the second and visible God, variously, the Logos (Memra), Wisdom, or even perhaps the Son of God' (Boyarin 2001, 249).

52 See, for example, McGrath 2001, 210 and references under n. 40.

53 See Boyarin 2001, 247; 2011, 547.

5.3 Assessing John 1:1–13: Are the Lineaments of This Story being Retold Here?

Viewed thematically and in linear perspective, the first half of the prologue may be seen to fall into four basic sections: three sections rehearse what may be considered discrete ‘epochs’ in the career of the pre-incarnate Logos (vv. 1–5, 6–8, 9–11), and a fourth seeks to qualify what has thus far been said while preparing for the climactic announcement of v. 14 (vv. 12–13).

5.3.1 Verses 1–5

5.3.1.1 Verses 1–3

Quite clearly, by signalling a context ‘in the beginning’ where the ‘Word’ is ‘with’ or ‘toward’⁵⁴ God and ‘is God’ and whom we are told is the creative agent through whom all things have and only have ἐγένετο, the FE places us firmly on the map of the creation narrative as reflected in Genesis 1, however much he may offer a ‘midrash’ through the lens of ‘Logos’ and ‘Wisdom’ on this seminal text.⁵⁵ The intertextual frame ‘in the beginning’ along with corresponding verbal connections are sufficiently strong to suggest that we should not envision a new frame of reference until clearly directed to do so, something that will not happen until (the intrusion of?) v. 6 with the announcement of the Baptist’s witness. The FE’s main purpose in setting the pre-incarnate Word against this epic backdrop, as vv. 4–5 will begin to make clearer, is to interpose notions about the Word’s functioning and ontology with notions about humanity’s functioning and ontology in relationship to the Word.⁵⁶ It should be immediately underlined in fact that, even if the FE is offering some sort of running commentary or midrash on the opening verses of Genesis in the opening verses of his Gospel,⁵⁷ the interplay of ἀνθρώπων with the Logos as ‘life’ and

54 Ἰρὸς in vv. 1 and 2 likely permit both senses. Cf., e.g., Barrett 1955, 129–30 and Waetjen 2005, 68–9.

55 Note well the twenty-three uses of the verb γίνομαι (all but three times as ἐγένετο) in Genesis 1 (vv. 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 23, 24, 30, 31), used here in more concentrated fashion than any other chapter in any other book in Old or New Testaments or Apocrypha, accounting for 2.699% of the total words used in the chapter. The nearest runner up is 1 Chron 20, where γίνομαι in its various forms accounts for 2.273% of the total words used. For particular parallels to Philo’s Logos in John 1:1–3, see *Conf.* 28 §146; *Fug.* 19 §101; *Somn.* 139 §230; *Fug.* 18 §97; *QE* 2.68; *Cher.* 35 §127; *Fug* 18 §95; *Opif.* 5 §20; and discussion in Evans 1993, 101. For connections to Wisdom, see Boyarin 2001.

56 See Brown 1966, 1:24: ‘The emphasis is primarily on God’s relation to men, rather than on God in Himself’.

57 As, for example, in Borgen 1972; Tobin 1990; Boyarin 2011.

'light' (v. 4b) is at the heart of the evangelist's concerns throughout the first half prologue, as each section makes clear.⁵⁸ This indicates that the story of the pre-incarnate Logos at creation as it intersects with an etiology of humanity should guide and restrain interpretations of this text.

In these first three verses in particular, we are invited to envision a transcendently important figure at the creation of the world. In his person, he is distinct from and yet identified with God. In his work, he is depicted as the agent through whom 'all things' have come and the vehicle of communication through whom God has been 'revealed'.⁵⁹ Humanity's utter dependence upon the Logos for creation and revelation, therefore, is immediately implied.

Although not exploring the idea of a Philonic-type Logos theology, Francis Moloney notes how the pronoun οὗτος at the beginning of v. 2 is ambiguous and may refer back to the antecedent 'Word' of v. 1 or may anticipate some sort of 'he'—and probably, more literally, 'a man'—yet to be identified.⁶⁰ Moloney is thinking of how the prologue anticipates the coming of Jesus, the 'man' in the flesh. Nonetheless, the fact that the descriptions of the FE's Logos in these verses bear remarkable 'resemblance to the primordial status and capacity that Philo assigns to the Logos'⁶¹ suggests that Moloney's 'man' hypothesis may be applied to the antecedent Logos. Philo's Logos, as we have seen, is consistently anthropomorphized; the Logos is an ἄνθρωπος after [God's] image, a 'man' whom Philo identifies with the heavenly ἄνθρωπος of Gen 1:27.⁶² Supposing a Philonic-type Logos background, then, and supposing that the οὗτος of 1:2 does

58 He is the 'light of men' (v. 4b); John testifies so that 'men might believe' (vv. 6–8); the 'world [of men]' did not know him' (v. 10); he came to his own [people]' (v. 11); some (people) did believe in him and became 'children of God' (v. 12).

59 The emphasis on the 'Word' as 'revelation' is Brown's: 'The fact that the *Word* created means that creation is an act of revelation' (Brown 1966, 1:25). Also see Suggit 1984, 104–5.

60 Moloney 1993, 29.

61 Waetjen 2005, 68. Also note the comment in Evans with reference to the uniqueness of agency: 'Unlike the wisdom literature, which speaks of God creating *by* Wisdom (σοφία) or *by* the Word (λόγος), which expresses instrumentality (Wis 9.2; Ps 32[33].6), Philo speaks of creation *through* the Word (δι' οὗ), which expresses agency (cf. *Cher* 35 §127)' (Evans 1993, 103). On the anarthrous Logos in Philo see *Somm.* 1.228–30.

62 *Conf.* 14 §62; 28 §146. See also *QG* 1.4; *Conf.* §40–41; and discussion in Tobin 1990; Evans 1993, 105. On the question of why the Logos may have been identified with the heavenly man of Gen 1:27, Tobin says, 'Both the logos and the heavenly man came to function in very similar if not identical ways. Both served as paradigms for earthly creation (one for the whole and the other for human beings); both came to serve an anagogic function in that they were guiding divine powers by which the human mind was enabled to ascend toward God' (267). I will discuss this point further momentarily.

indeed denote some sort of ‘man’, would warrant the conclusion that the ‘man’ being referenced is not only Jesus, per se, as the yet-to-come embodied Logos; the ‘man’ being referenced is also the preexistent Logos, possibly understood as a character.

But is it really possible that the FE intends, right at the outset of his Gospel, to prompt his listeners to envision such a preexistent heavenly ‘man’? On the basis of vv. 1–3 alone, of course, this suggestion lacks sufficient exegetical support, especially because the notion that the near demonstrative οὗτος literally means ‘man’ is not clear.⁶³ Nonetheless, bonfires start with sparks, and the next few verses ignite more matches.

5.3.1.2 Verse 4

The Word, we are told in v. 4a, was (ἦν) the source (ἐν αὐτῷ) of life (ζωή), a backglancing description that in the context of ‘the beginning’ invokes a potential triad of memories from the creation story in Genesis 1–3.⁶⁴ All of these memories are associated with humanity. In the first and most general sense, one is reminded of how the ‘life’ inherent in the speech or word of God in Genesis 1 brought about a succession of ‘living’ creatures (Gen 1:30), climaxing on the sixth day with the creation of God’s image-bearing ἄνθρωπος/םך, ‘humanity’ (1:26–27).⁶⁵ In a second and more specific way, one is reminded how the theme of ‘life’ is underlined again and more strongly with reference to God’s image-bearers in the so-called ‘anthropological account’ of creation in Genesis 2. In this instance, the ἄνθρωπος/םך receives the πνοήν ζωής/םׁיחַיָּה, ‘breath of life’, a vivifying force ‘blown’ directly into his ‘nostrils’, or indeed his ‘face’ (πρόσωπον/ף). This insufflation leads man to a ‘tree of life’, τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωής (2:9), a third possible evocation here in the prologue.

Whether the FE has all these associations in mind—and expected them to be envisioned along with some sort of personal conception of an archetypal heavenly man figure—is of course impossible to know. If one grants that the prologue is integrally related to the rest of the Gospel, however, the image at

63 See EDNT 3838.

64 On the meaning of the imperfect, see GGBB, 543; Hengel 275.

65 All the creatures created per verbum are summarized in Gen 1:30 as that ὁ ἔχει ἐν αὐτῷ ψυχὴν ζωής/םׁיחַיָּה וְנֶפֶשׁ בָּרֶבֶר (Gen 1:30). The phrase is frequently translated ‘breath of life’ (NIV, NET, RSV), although the primary meaning of both nouns ψυχὴ and נֶפֶשׁ is of the ‘soul’ ‘life’ or ‘creature’ (LEH 9797; TWOT 1395a) and is different from that used of man’s creation in Gen 2:7—πνοή and מְקַיֶּה—where the primary meaning is ‘wind’ or ‘breath’ (LEH 7297; TWOT 1433a).

the end of the FG depicting Jesus' '*breathing*' (ἐμφυσάω) on or into his disciples⁶⁶ after the fashion of God to humanity in Genesis 2:7 (20:22) suggests that man's insufflation may primarily be in view in 1:4 of the prologue.⁶⁷ Additionally, the fact that Jesus' endowment of breath/Spirit into the disciples at the end of the FG is prefixed by the strong note of their vocation to do what Jesus as the revelation and glory of God has done (20:21) presents the possibility of this latent meaning in the prologue as well.⁶⁸ In this case, the FG could be seen to begin as it ends with two beginnings, each focusing squarely on the creation and recreation of God's image bearers for a specific purpose.

The immediate context of 1:4, as already indicated, supports the possibility of this immanent meaning, as οἱ ἄνθρωποι (humanity) becomes the immediate subject of the discourse. Philo himself rehearses the earthly man's divine insufflation abundantly, suggesting its prolific significance for first-century audiences.⁶⁹ Furthermore, Philo persistently rehearses this event with reference to 'man's' archetypal model, the heavenly 'man', the 'Logos'. The Logos, says Philo, is the 'image of God', whereas the man of clay is in the image and impress of this heavenly man, the Logos. The Logos is unalloyed with matter; the 'man' of Gen 2:7 is earthly and corporeal. Importantly, however, the corporeal man is more than merely corporeal, we are told, for he is heavenly as well. Moreover, his heavenly essence, says Philo, was transmitted to him *via* the 'breath of life', a 'breath' that is in fact called 'the essence of life'.⁷⁰ This

66 As Freiberg, Liddell-Scott, and LEH agree, ἐμφυσάω can mean either blow 'on' or blow 'in'.

67 John 20:22 is widely held to evoke Gen 2:7. E.g., cf., Westcott 1881, 294; Hoskyns 1947, 544; Barrett 1955, 474; Morris 1971, 846; Lindars 1972, 611; Newbigin 1982, 468; Lincoln 2005, 499; and Waetjen 2005, 421. The link is taken as strong because the verb ἐμφυσάω, used only here in the NT, finds exact parallel in the LXX of Gen 2:7. The verb is also used very rarely elsewhere in the OT and apocryphal works. See 1 Ki. 17:21; Tbs. 6:9; 11:11; Job 4:21; Wis 15:11; Nah 2:2; Ezek 21:36; 37:9.

68 The disciple's reception of the Spirit after the pattern of Genesis 2 is clearly presented in John 20:21–23 as their empowerment for the task at hand: καθώς ἀπέσταλκέν με ὁ πατήρ, καὶ γὰρ πέμπω ὑμᾶς.

69 See *Opif* 1:134–5; *Leg*. 1:31–3; 3:161; *Det*. 1:80–2; *Plant*. 1:19; *Her*. 1:56; *Somn* 1:34; *Spec*. 4:123; *QG*, frag. 1:4; 1:5; 2:56, 59. The prophet Isaiah similarly invokes this memory when he reminds Israel that the God who is addressing them is 'the LORD, who created the heavens and stretched them out, who spread out the earth and what comes from it, who gives breath [πνοήν] to the people upon it and spirit [πνεῦμα] to those who walk in it' (Isa 42:5).

70 See *Opif* 1:30; and especially *Det*. 1:80: 'And when the Creator of all living things first began to make man, after the creation of the heaven and the earth, and all the things which are between the two, Moses says, "And he breathed into his face the breath of life (πνεῦμα ζωῆς), and man became a living soul," showing again by this expression that it is the breath which is the essence of the life (ὅτι πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἡ ψυχῆς οὐσία)'.

'life', of course, could not for Philo have been imparted to the man directly by God who stands transcendent from his creation; it had to be mediated by God through his designated mediator, viz., the life-giving Logos.⁷¹

Consequently, for Philo, to say as the FE says in his opening verses that 'in the beginning was the Logos' and ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν,⁷² and to say this in an anthropological setting, is tantamount to saying that 'in the beginning was the Logos' and 'the Logos was the breath of life'. Ezekiel plays with this same matrix of imagery when he conveys that the prophet's speech is a vehicle of 'the word of the Lord' (λόγον κυρίου) (37:4) by which the 'spirit/wind of life' (πνεῦμα ζωῆς) is promised to be breathed (ἐμφυσάω) into an Israel reborn after the pattern of Genesis 2:7 (Ezek 37:1–14). As I have shown, this (re-)insufflation of man for Ezekiel leads to the temple's consummation with glory, and implies humanity's glory-filling vocation.⁷³ Accordingly, although it must still be taken as uncertain, we may once again be justified in at least suspecting that the FE intends to evoke a similar field of vision in the prologue.

Taken what has been seen so far, the image I am suggesting may be latent within the prologue up to this point is of a personally active and anthropomorphically-constituted Logos who lives and operates in extraordinary intimacy with God and human beings. The Logos is generically responsible for the creation of 'all things'. Beyond this, the FE's Logos is also potentially to be envisaged as a man-like heavenly figure dispensing the breath of life—which is to say (as I showed in Chapter 4), the spirit/glory/light of God—into earthly man, his image-bearing counterpart, at the daybreak of the original creation. This 'thick' reading is reinforced by the FE's next statement that ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς—or rather, the φῶς—τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Indeed, it is potentially significant that the φῶς of v. 4b possesses no accenting in all the earliest manuscripts. This is significant because the word is a homonym. Without accent φως might mean 'light' (φῶς) or 'man' (φῶς).⁷⁴

71 See *Plant.* 1:19: 'But . . . the great Moses . . . has pronounced [man] an image of the divine and invisible being, making it a coin as it were of sterling metal, stamped and impressed with the seal of God, the impression of which is the eternal word (*logos*). For, says Moses, "God breathed into man's face the breath of life," [Genesis 2:7] so that it follows of necessity, that he that received the breath must be fashioned after the model of him who sent it forth. On which account it is said too, that "Man was made after the image of God".'

72 Although the text may also read, 'what became in him was life', we are opting for the alternate reading of punctuation at this point. The particular construction in this instance does not much alter the meaning.

73 See again p. 153 above.

74 See, e.g., LSJ 46170; Gieschen 1998, 130.

Moreover, it appears this ambiguity was played to full effect in some mystical texts in order to evoke the idea of a heavenly luminous man—i.e. a φως-φώς, a ‘light-man’. Such a figure is evoked via this wordplay in Ezekiel the Tragedian, for example, where the author relays Moses’ Sinaitic vision of a ‘φως of noble mien’ on a throne in heaven (line 70), likely in order to relay the poetic sense that this heavenly figure is no mere ‘man’, ἀνὴρ, but a transcendent being, a glory-filled, luminous man (i.e. a Man). As Gieschen comments, ‘The description of this “Man of Light from Heaven” leaves the reader with the impression that he is the enthroned visible form of God.’⁷⁵ Similar portrayals of glorious ‘light-men’ appear in Ezekiel 1:26–28, Daniel 10:5–6; Joseph and Aseneth 14:1–4, 7–9.⁷⁶

Furthermore, as Gieschen observes, the roots of this idea about a heavenly ‘light-man’ are likely to be found in interpretations of Genesis 1:3—a fact that would make the FE’s thick use of it in the opening verses of his prologue explicable. In answer to the LXX’s rendering that the earth was invisible (ἀόρατος) (Gen 1:2),⁷⁷ God says, ‘Let there be φως’ (1:3). For some Jewish interpreters, ‘the φως in 1.3 is the creation of “the Glory” of God’s physical man-like appearance (cf. Ezek 1.26)’ in the heavenly realm.⁷⁸ God’s creation of φως in Genesis, therefore, is taken to be the first epiphany of God’s glory in the created sphere, his first act of making the invisible God visible in the form of a heavenly man. It is for this reason, Gieschen adds, that the idea of an archetypal and heavenly ‘firstborn’ (πρωτότοκος) came to be.⁷⁹ This tradition receives clear, if late, attestation ‘in the non-Christian *Eugnostos the Blessed* found at Nag Hammadi (ca. third century CE):

75 Gieschen 1998, 130.

76 E.g., ‘And when Aseneth finished confessing to the Lord, behold, the morning star rose in the eastern sky. And Aseneth saw it . . . and rejoiced and said: “The Lord God has indeed heard me, for this star is a messenger and herald of the light (φωτός) of the great day.” And behold, the heaven was torn open near the morning star and an indescribable **light** (φως) appeared. And Aseneth fell on her face upon the ashes. And there came to her a **man from heaven** (ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ). . . . And she lifted up her eyes and saw. And behold, a **man** (ἄνθρωπος) like Joseph in every respect, with a robe and a crown and a royal staff. But his **face was like lightning**, and his eyes were like the **light** (φῆγος) of the sun’ (Jos. Asen. 14:1–4, 7–9, 12, 15). For comment on this and other texts, see Gieschen 1998, 129–31.

77 See NETS Gen 1:2.

78 Gieschen 1998, 110.

79 ‘This “firstborn” nomenclature has been shown to be dependent on the Jewish and pre-Christian tradition of the φως in the Greek translation of Gen 1.3’ (Gieschen 1998, 110).

[NHC III.76.15–24] The First who appeared before the universe in infinity is self-grown, self-constructed Father, full of shining, ineffable light. In the beginning He decided to have his likeness come into being as a Great Power. Immediately the beginning of that Light was manifested as an immortal androgynous Man.⁸⁰

Philo also identifies his preexistent Logos in line with these traditions. The Logos, according to Philo, is not only the archetypal ‘Man’ or first Adam, in whose image all other men have been modelled. The Logos is equally God’s heavenly ‘firstborn’ and glorious archetypal ‘light’, the first ‘light’ of all subsequent and lesser ‘lights’, including human beings. As Gieschen comments: ‘Philo is aware of this tradition and identifies this light, “who is the archetype of every other light”, as the Word (*Somn* 1.75; cf. *Op* 29–31). . . . The Word is the image of God after which earthly man was created (*Quas Gen* 2.62; cf. *Conf* 41; *Fuga* 101; *Leg All* 3.96).’⁸¹ One finds a similar association of elements in Colossians 1:9–15.⁸²

By all accounts, therefore, it is possible that some in the FE’s audience(s) could have heard v. 4b as saying, or at least intimating, that the Logos who ‘was life’ was also the ‘light-man’ of men, which is to say, the archetypal anthropomorphic glory of God and Logos character in whose image and glory the earthly Adam himself was created. The upshot of this invocation, of course, may have been the reminder that what the Logos as the archetypal ‘light-man’

80 Gieschen 1998, 110. Cf. also 1 John’s use of ‘light’ language in accord with the paralleling of ‘in him [Jesus]’ with ‘in the light’. E.g., 1 John 1:5–7; 2:5, 8–11. The sense of 1 John is that to be ‘in the light’ is to be ‘in Jesus’, the ‘true light’ ‘shining in the darkness’, the anthropomorphic glory of God above and below.

81 Gieschen 1998, 110. Although see the clarification of Patterson: ‘Philo never anthropomorphizes the light of Genesis 1:3–4. However, he does identify it with the Logos, whom he sometimes anthropomorphizes. It would not be a great leap for one influenced by Philo (or by the tradition he represents) not only to identify the light with the Logos/Christ, but to anthropomorphize it’ (Patterson 2012, 141). This accords with Tobin’s earlier conclusion that the FE’s statements about the Logos as light are clarified by Philo. The ‘light’ in John 1:4, 5, therefore, should be understood as ‘closely associated with the divine logos; indeed it is the *image of that logos*’ (Tobin 1990, 264). See also Borgen 1972, 120.

82 The apostle prays that the believers in Jesus will be filled (πληρώω) with wisdom (σοφία) and strengthened with glory (δόξα) as inheritors ‘in the light (φῶς)’ (i.e. the glory of a true human being) instead of darkness (σκότος, i.e. the effects of the ‘fall’). He then reminds the church of the basis for their hope, namely, that Jesus, in whose life they now participate, ‘is the image (εἰκὼν) of the invisible (ἀοράτου) God . . . the prototype [πρωτότοκος = ‘first-born’] of all creation’ (MIT). For a reading of Col 1 along these lines, see Fossum 1995, 13–39. Cf. the review in Hartman 1998.

and 'glory of God' was 'above', Adam/human beings were to be 'below'. Put more precisely, whereas the Logos/primordial and heavenly 'light-man', as the FE has just conveyed, existed with God, as God, as the first epiphany of his glory, and as the archetypal source of life and light/glory for humanity, so humanity created in his image and impress was to be for the world. Both were to be anthropic revelations of the glory of the Lord in their respective spheres of influence—or, in visual terms, 'light-men'.

This insinuation of humanity's original vocation may have been unmistakable, of course, if the FE and his audiences were still grounded in 'functional ontologies'.⁸³ As discussed in Chapter 4, all cosmologies in the ANE were 'functional ontologies'. These dictated, as Walton concludes, that what exists 'exists by virtue of the role that it has in *its* sphere of existence . . . In a functional ontology . . . [u]nless something is integrated into a working, ordered system, it does not exist'.⁸⁴ Provided this milieu, an evocation of Adam or humanity's creation in the prologue would simultaneously evoke Adam and humanity's functioning role in the ordered system. Further, an evocation of humanity's creation that foregrounds man as 'light' after the 'light-man of men' (or, perhaps 'Man of men') would potentially signal humanity's pristine 'light' and 'glory' after this archetypal Man of Glory. There were certainly enough traditions that asserted the primordial light and glory of Adam, as we saw in Chapter 4 above, to generate this meaning for informed listeners.

Two points must be stressed at this point.

In the first place, it must be recognized that if the FE is indeed evoking this idea of humanity's ontological light and glory-filling vocation at this point in the prologue, he is doing so in a way that underscores the primal man's utter dependence upon the Logos/light-man to fulfill it. Adam was never his own light and glory. Rather, the Word through whom all things came and who was the life of men was also the 'light-man' of men, their only source of light and glory. Verse 9 will underline this reality again when it speaks of the true light or light-man $\delta \phiωτίζει \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\nu$.

But, secondly, this raises an important question. What kind of light is it that the light-man/Logos brings to or infuses in men? How exactly is it that he 'illuminates' men? Are we talking about an ontological light here, as in the light of an inherent glory, the sort of light-as-God's-manifest-glory that Adam had prior to his transgression against the word? Or are we talking about the light of revelation here, as that which came communicatively to man to direct his

83 Which, on the basis of our discussion on pp. 124–133 above, certainly seems to have been the case.

84 Walton 2009, 25, emphasis original. See again p. 124 above.

steps in the garden and then subsequently in Wisdom and through the Law and Prophets for those after Adam? The answer, of course, is that if the FE is indeed operating with a Philonic-type Logos background here and/or the sorts of Adamic traditions we rehearsed above, then these two senses of light are inextricable. For, on the one hand, Philo's Logos is both the source of man's creation (and hence ontological glory) and revelation (and hence ongoing illumination).⁸⁵ On the other hand, as we saw, Adam's ontological 'light' and 'glory' is contingent on Adam's embrace of the 'light' of God's word/wisdom.⁸⁶ Thus, the FE's statement that the 'life was the light/light-man of men' may be taken to imply man's ontological light, as glory, and communicational light, as God's verbal revelation to man. The two are effectively one.

5.3.1.3 Verse 5

Verse 5 reinforces the sense that primal memories about Adamic humanity are in view. The primordial man's failure to live into his identity and calling appears immediately presumed upon and evoked in v. 5 via the imagery of light and darkness, and, in the first place, via the image of light *amidst* the darkness.⁸⁷

καὶ τὸ φῶς ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ φαίνει,
καὶ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβεν

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- 85 As Waetjen comments: Philo's Logos 'constitute[s] a divine hypostasis and intermediary that engages in the activities of creation, revelation and communication. Logos is the ideal hypostasis for Philo because of its correlation with the speech activity that is ascribed to God in the Old Testament' (Waetjen 2005, 65). Notably, Jesus is humanity's source of glory (or Spirit-filling) *and* revelation in the FG. See, e.g., John 1:33; 17:22; 19:30; 20:22. Also see 5:24; 8:31, 37, 43, 51–2; 12:48; 14:23–4; 15:20.
- 86 See again Chapter 4 above, especially n. 63. The same truth applies to Jesus in his humanity in the FG: his glory is wrapped up with his obedience to doing the word and works of God. E.g., John 7:18–19; 17:1–10.
- 87 So Hengel: 'The "fall," that deep disruption in creation and history that is part of God's mystery, is presupposed between vv. 3 and 5 and again in v. 10' (Hengel 2008, 276). Likewise Waetjen 2005, 70. Adam's representative function and delivery of subsequent humanity into darkness is presupposed in 1:5 and then throughout the FG: cf. John 6:17; 8:12; 12:35a, b, 46; 20:1 (also cf. 1 John 1:5; 2:8, 9, 11) and comment in Schnackenburg 1968: 'The fall of man is not described, but it is presupposed' (242). On the difficulties on v. 5 with reference to the present φαίνει and the aorist κατέλαβεν, see idem 245, 247: the FE 'recognizes that the Logos illuminates unceasingly . . . down to his own day . . . But he is also aware of the [past] incomprehension and refusal of men . . . The way men acted then becomes a warning to the reader' (Schnackenburg 1968, 247).

As may be remembered, as an answer to the negative *תהו ובהו* ('unformed' and 'unfilled'), conditions of the world as described in Genesis 1:2, the creation of the world in Genesis 1 is typified by the sharp separation of elements into distinct spheres for the purpose of rendering the world into conditions that are hospitable for life. The *φως* of Genesis 1:3 is clearly separated from the 'darkness' (*σκότος*) of Genesis 1:4, dividing the cosmos temporally into day (*ἡμέρα*) and night (*νύξ*), and/or, if cosmic and/or moral meaning was discerned in the imagery of light and darkness in Gen 1:3's later reception, into good and evil, or a personified light-man and his antithesis.⁸⁸ In the FE's depiction of the *φως* in the first clause of v. 5, however, this division is no longer steadfast. The *φως* that has always shone since 'the beginning' now shines in and amidst the darkness (*ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ*), a reality that persists throughout the FG.⁸⁹ Genesis' own explanation for this *con-fused* situation, of course, as the Noahic narrative captures well, and Hosea and Jeremiah interpret in no uncertain terms,⁹⁰ lands squarely on the shoulders of the elect humans who transgressed by eating of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. As reviewed above, Adam's disavowal of the word/law/wisdom/light of God in Jewish tradition entailed a loss of glory; this loss of glory was synonymous with a loss of light or luminescence—which is to say, darkness.⁹¹ Because of his role in the earthly temple, this loss of light and glory befell Adam as well as the world that was dependent on him for its own consummate glory. Each was envisioned returning to a state of un-creation, *תהו ובהו*, a state originally distinguished by a concomitant and all-encompassing 'darkness' (*σκότος*; Gen 1:2).

That Adam and Eve's primal sin in the garden is plausibly being assumed or evoked in v. 5 of the prologue is supported by the degree to which this event is described in Jewish tradition with the accompanying language of 'light' and 'darkness'. 2 *Enoch* characterizes Adam's choice as a choice between 'two ways', between 'the light and the darkness' (30:14). The Community Document speaks about man whom the Creator 'created to . . . govern the world' as being confronted with 'the spirit of truth and injustice. . . of light [and] . . . of darkness' (1QS III, 13–iv, 1). The Testament of Levi associates the choice that left Adam barred from 'the gates of paradise' (18:10) with the present generation's

88 Note the meaning of this imagery in Revelation 21:25 where the eschatological temple is characterized by open gates 'for [γὰρ] there will be no night [νύξ] there' (NIV). On the view that some sort of personified light figure in Genesis 1:3 is being reflected in John 1:4–5, see Borgen 1972.

89 See John 3:19; 8:12; 12:35, 46. On the use of the preposition *ἐν* + dative see Wallace, 372.

90 See again p. 105 above.

91 See again n. 63 in Chapter 4 above.

requirement to 'choose...for yourselves either the light or the darkness, either the law of the Lord of the works of Beliar' (*T. Lev* 19:1). This 'light' before Adam is also frequently identified with the 'word', 'command', or 'law' of God.⁹² Naturally, Adam's rejection of this 'light' that is equated with the 'law' or 'word of God' (and in *2 En* 31:1 may even have a certain heavenly figure in view)⁹³ is understood to have led to 'darkness', both for Adam as well as those after him. This darkness includes a loss of 'knowledge' and 'death'. The author of the Apocalypse of Adam, for example, describes Adam and Eve's transgression as a 'darkening' of their hearts and eyes, a loss of 'eternal knowledge', a subjection to 'the power of death' (1:5–12). Examples could be multiplied.⁹⁴

As is apparent in many of these texts (and can be seen in several more), there was a strong habit among Jewish writers to link explanations and discussions of this world's present darkness (and loss of wisdom and glory) to the primal darkness incepted by Adam's transgression against God's 'word', 'light', 'wisdom' and/or 'law/commandment' 'in the beginning'.⁹⁵ The FE likewise

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- 92 See, e.g., *2 En* 31:1; *2 Bar* 18:1–2; 54:13–15; *L.A.E.* 18:1. There is an interesting overlap in the language of light as applied to the Adam and Eve stories with the primal function of light in Hellenistic mysticism and Gnosis literature. As Schnackenburg observes: 'The two concepts of light and life are...recalled in anthropological contexts. The "primal Man" is born of the "Father of all", the Nous, which is life and light (1, 12)...the object of Hermetic Gnosis is to lead present (empirical) man, through knowledge and vision, back to "light and life" (Schnackenburg 1968, 242–3).
- 93 'Adam has life on earth, and I created a garden in Eden in the east, that he should observe the testament and keep the command. I made the heavens open to him, that he should see...the *gloomless light*. And he was continuously in paradise,...because Adam was lord on earth, to rule and control it' (*2 Enoch* 31:1 OTP). This text is indeed most fascinating with respect to our discussion of the 'light-man' above. Is the 'gloomless light' in 'heaven' referred to here in *2 Enoch* a reference to such a heavenly, anthropomorphic figure?
- 94 See, e.g., *2 Bar* 18:2 (where the author depicts Adam's transgression, 'as black water's from which 'black again were born and very *deep darkness* originated'); and Rom 1:18–23 (where Paul speaks of the fall of humanity as its exchange of 'the *glory* of the immortal God for images', an exchange that has rendered humanity (ἀνθρώπων, 1:18) a riot of 'fools' whose 'senseless minds were *darkened*'); *2 Bar* 56:5, 7, 9; *2 Cor* 4:6.
- 95 Besides the texts already mentioned, this habit is discernible in *4 Ezra* and the *T. Lev*. *4 Ezra* laments the fact that 'the world lies in *darkness*, and its inhabitants are without light' (14:20), a problem he aims to tackle by telling about 'everything that has happened in the world *from the beginning*, which were written in thy law' (v. 22). The author of the *T. Lev*. looks forward to a future priest-king who 'will shine brightly as the sun to the earth, and will remove all *darkness* from under heaven' (18:4). This removal of darkness will occur when the priest-king deals with 'the threatening sword against Adam (τοῦ Ἀδάμ); the implied cause of the darkness in the first place (v. 10).

seems to root discussions of sin or rejection of the light in memories about the beginning.⁹⁶ It may have been difficult in largely oral storytelling environments and mnemonic communities to talk about this world's present darkness and peril without exciting memories about the primal story about Adam and his tragic loss of light/glory. This would be manifoldly true, of course, in a text or performance staged explicitly 'in the beginning'. Consequently, with these sorts of associative tendencies in the background, it is no stretch to imagine that the FE is evoking this primal narrative and its snowballing effects for all humanity when he says that, 'the φως shines in the darkness, but the darkness did not/has not κατέλαβεν it'.

The rare verb κατέλαβεν itself is suggestive of the Adam story. For while this verb is not used in the Genesis narrative itself, it is used in wisdom literature in association with Adam, and its meaning in this literature accurately describes the nature of Adam's transgression according to the Genesis narrative. Johannine scholars have been divided over the meaning of κατέλαβεν in John 1:5, usually translating it as meaning either 'understand' or 'overcome' or, perhaps, both.⁹⁷ Thayer's Greek Lexicon, however, suggests that κατέλαβεν can also mean 'to lay hold of so as to make one's own' as in 'to take into oneself',⁹⁸ a meaning that better accords with the FE's use of οὐκ ἔγνω and οὐ παρέλαβον in vv. 10 and 11 respectively. The LXX uses κατέλαβεν as a replacement for the Hebrew לָכַד, meaning 'to capture' or 'apprehend as one's own'. Κατέλαβεν is used in this way, for example, in Judges 9:50 to describe Abimelech's siege against, and 'capturing' of, Thebez—i.e. his taking the city as his own. Kittel regards κατέλαβεν in this same way, as a strengthening of the root λαμβάνω, 'to seize' or 'to grasp' (cf. John 1:11, 13). Furthermore, although frequently carrying the sense of a 'forceful' taking, Kittel determines that κατέλαβεν can also be used 'in the positive sense of "to attain definitively"'.⁹⁹ Significantly, the word

96 This is not only evident in the prologue, for example, but in the body of his gospel. In John 3, Jesus tells Nicodemus that 'people loved (ἠγάπησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι) darkness rather than light *because* (γὰρ) their deeds were evil' (v. 19). The reason men have been this way is 'for (γὰρ) all who do evil hate the light, and do not come to the light, so that their deeds may not be exposed' (v. 20). According to Philo, this principle of fear or running away from God due to sin is a doctrine rooted in the story of Adam. Adam and Eve's hiding from God under a cover of darkness, he avows, 'teaches us that the wicked man is inclined to run away... and enveloped in darkness' (*Leg.* 3:1; cf. *Leg.* 3:54). Elsewhere in the FG, Jesus, 'the light of the world' calls those who reject him sons of their father 'the devil', a murderer '*from the beginning*' (v. 44). I will say more about this passage on p. 188 below.

97 See Schnackenburg 1968, 246.

98 GELNT 2789.

99 TDNT, IV, 10.

is used this way in wisdom literature to describe the person who willingly takes and ‘makes wisdom his secure inner possession’.¹⁰⁰ Even more significantly, Sirach uses κατέλαβεν in this way with reference to Adam when he urges his audience to ‘pursue wisdom like a hunter, and lie in wait on her paths’ (14:22), a pursuit that through the agency of the Law will be consummated in the pursuer’s ‘taking secure hold of’ (καταλήμψεται) ‘wisdom’.¹⁰¹ Instructively, Sirach links this positive embrace of wisdom—an activity that leads its adherents to ‘lean on her’ but ‘not fall’ (15:4a)—to Adam, who failed in this task ‘in the beginning (ἐξ ἀρχῆς)’ by breaking the ‘commandment’ (vv. 14, 15).¹⁰²

All of this coincides with the Genesis narrative itself, where the nexus of Adam’s error—indeed of Adam’s ‘fall’—was that he listened to the ‘voice of his wife’ when he should have listened to the voice of his Lord. This is the conditional cause of his curse: ‘Because you have listened to the voice (τῆς φωνῆς) of your wife’, the prosecuting God says to Adam.¹⁰³ Thus, Adam’s first level error was that, despite the fact that the light of God’s word/wisdom and/or commandment/law shone brightly for him in the garden, and, indeed, in him, ontologically, as the divine breath and glory, Adam did not embrace this light and lay hold of it as his own, as something to be treasured and ‘attained definitively’. Indeed, we might accurately say, as the FE does seem to be saying in vv. 4–5, that instead of embracing the light of God’s personal Logos, the first earthly man—representative of all men—embraced the darkness of a lie instead. The consequence, as I have already rehearsed, was a loss of intrinsic glory (i.e. ‘darkness’) for Adam and a loss of real and potential glory (i.e. ‘darkness’) for the rest of the earthly temple, despite the totipresence of the light/light-man.¹⁰⁴

100 TDNT, IV, 9–10.

101 This sense is reflected in the NETS translation: ‘He who has a hold on the law *will lay hold of* her [wisdom]’ (15:1b), and purportedly as a natural outcome. This seems to be the significance of the middle voice, because ‘*with a reflexive force the subject produces and receives the action.*’ (MacDonald, Greek Enchiridion, 5, emphasis original). By loving the law, Sirach’s subject produces a desire for wisdom which is consummated in its simultaneous reception.

102 For the view that ‘Ben Sira renarrates the story of creation and the primal sin of humanity found in Genesis 2–3 in a striking and provocative fashion’, particularly in order to underscore the culpability of *all* humans since Adam, see Berg 2013.

103 Cf. Gen 3:17a, ‘τῷ δὲ Ἀδὰμ εἶπεν ὅτι ἡκουσας τῆς φωνῆς τῆς γυναικός σου’ (‘And to Adam he said, ‘Because you listened to the voice of your wife’).

104 Fletcher-Louis argues that Adam and Eve’s transgression, as depicted in Genesis and interpreted in first century texts like 2 *Enoch*, was understood as a sort of double rejection.

5.3.2 Verses 6–8

The FE will trace two separate developments of this history of man's rejection of the pre-incarnate Logos in vv. 10 and 11, deepening the sense of the tragedy begun in Adam. Before this, however, he introduces the first witness of John the Baptist.

Whether an original or later addition, vv. 6–8 as they presently stand seem to serve a triple function.

Firstly, as Hengel states, vv. 6–8 'refer to the [Baptist's] prophetic witness to the light of the Word before its manifest appearance' in a way that anticipates his subsequent witness in vv. 19–28; likewise, the insertion of the Baptist's second witness in the prologue—to the Incarnate Logos in v. 15—anticipates the Baptist's witness to the manifested Logos, Jesus, in 1:29–37.¹⁰⁵

Secondly, introducing the witness of the Baptist in v. 6 serves to frame the career of the Pre-incarnate Logos in its broadest possible dimensions, from the Logos' role at the creation of the world as life-giver and illuminator of men to the Logos' similar presence in and through the voice of Israel's last and greatest prophet, John.¹⁰⁶

Thirdly, the witness of John in vv. 6–9 issues a strong and immediate warning to any who may have been tempted either to: (a) ignore John's message or (b) mistake John, who was only a 'lamp' (5:35) for being the 'true light' himself. This caution is inherent in the trial motif language of 'witness'.¹⁰⁷ This caution is also intrinsic to the logic that develops between vv. 5 and 6. After all, if my interpretation is on the right track, the FE has just reminded his audience that Adam, as those after him, did not embrace the light of God's Logos as their

It was not only a rejection of God's true identity, believing he was something other than who he is; it was also a rejection of their own identity, believing that they had to strive to become 'like gods', when they were already 'like' God, infused with the very 'breath' and glory/luminosity of God. ('You will be like [ὡς] gods' ... 'Let us make man in our image [εἰκόνα], in our likeness [ὁμοίωσιν].') In this way, human ontology and human sin against God's word are tightly interlinked in the Genesis narrative and subsequent interpretations of it: to sin against God's word and light is to sin against the very word and light that oneself is, as the image-bearer of God. Hence, says 2 *Enoch*, 'after sin there is nothing for it but death' (2 *En* 30:16). Thus, when the FE says that 'the light shines in the darkness but the darkness αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβεν, the FE's statement can be understood as connoting *both* tragic realities. See Fletcher-Louis 2012, 137–9.

105 Hengel 2008, 277. Cf. a similar construal of John's two-fold witness in the prologue in Talbert 2011, 131–42.

106 As also argued by Waetjen 2005, 72.

107 See Lincoln 2000.

own for the precious treasure it was, despite the perennial shining of the light/light-man, and thus fell into darkness, losing their birthright as embodiments of God's glory in the world. Thus, extreme vigilance is required. Those who may be inclined to ignore John's message or mistake it for more than it was are urged to go back and embrace it for what it *really* was: John's whole ministry was a *pointer* to the 'true light/light-man' who 'illumines [i.e. 'glorifies'] all men' and 'was coming into the world' (vv. 8, 9). This light/light-man, as John will attest at every single point, will outflank John in every way.¹⁰⁸

5.3.3 *Verses 9–11*

The fact that the FE picks up right where he left off in vv. 9–11, rehearsing various rejections of the light of God's Logos in the past, does suggest the later insertion of vv. 6–8. However, it may just as well be supposed that the FE has intentionally dischronologized his retelling at this point because of how the events evoked in vv. 9–11 and 12–13, though chronologically earlier, better juxtapose with and condition what will be said in vv. 14–18. Whether this suggestion is plausible will become clearer as we proceed. The interesting question to be faced at the moment is why the FE continues talking about the pre-incarnate Logos' rejection at all. The point has already been made in v. 5 that humanity as a whole, which is to say, humanity in Adam, has rejected the light/light-man, an evocation that seems to imply the loss of glory and failure of all humans from thereon in. So why elaborate on this fact by mentioning first the 'world's' (ὁ κόσμος) and then 'his own's' (τὰ ἴδια) rejection of the light/light-man in vv. 10 and 11?

The likely answer to this question is, once again, because the FE intends to invoke not only an enduring fact of history but the unfolding drama of history, an unfolding drama that calls for a decisive answer. Hengel certainly moves in this direction, even if he does not go far enough, when he proposes that v. 5 and v. 10 similarly focus on the 'worldwide' rejection of the Word, begun in Adam and continued in the generations that followed him. In this way, the first two rejections of the Word in the prologue call to mind, says Hengel, 'the failed beginnings of the history of humankind in Genesis 3–11'.¹⁰⁹ Verse 11, then, akin to the drama launched in Gen 12,

¹⁰⁸ See further comment in section 5.4.2 below.

¹⁰⁹ Hengel 2008, 279.

refers to a new “stage of revelation”: ‘He came to his own/And his own people did not receive him’. The terms τὰ ἴδια and οἱ ἴδιοι are a reference to Israel, God’s own possession, the people chosen by him. To them God speaks the promise, “if you obey my voice . . . you shall be *my own possession* among all peoples.”¹¹⁰ But even God’s own possession, the people chosen since Abraham, turns away from God’s word and command: “Did not Moses give you the law? Yet *none of you* keeps the law” and: “It is Moses who accuses you, on whom you set your hope.” But “if you do not believe his writings, how will you believe in me?” asks the Johannine Christ.¹¹¹

Hengel says no more than this. He simply notes that verses 5, 10 and 11 display a narrative progression that mimics and assumes knowledge of the failure of Adam, the world after Adam, and the history of Israel begun in Abraham, and this shows the need for a new act of God in Jesus. This seems right. But again, where we would like to add to Hengel, as well as Boyarin and Dodd, is in suggesting that the FE signals to this history, and signals to it specifically in terms of repeated rejections of the Logos/Light/Wisdom/Law of God, in order to invoke the notion of Adam/the world’s and Israel’s successively failed *vocations* to be and thus reveal the light and glory of God in the world (i.e. schema cycles I and II above).¹¹² This enables the FE to indicate this vocation’s fulfillment in Jesus in vv. 14–18 (i.e. the beginning and hence projected fulfillment of cycle III). That the FE is indeed plausibly focused on the question of Adam/Israel’s vocation as it devolves onto the Logos in Jesus is surprisingly underscored in vv. 12–13.

5.3.4 Verses 12–13

Verse 12–13 have often been seen as summarizing the central subject of the FG and therefore belonging to the history of the Logos Incarnate. Yet, read as the last word in the FE’s retelling of the history of the Logos *asarkos*, vv. 12–13 may be seen to answer a critically important and likely anticipated objection to all that has thus far been said. Namely, the FE’s intimation that Adam, the world, and Israel have all failed to receive the Logos/Light

110 Hengel cites the following texts in support: Exod 19:5; Deut 7:6; Deut 10:14–15; Ps 135:4; 33:12; Mal 3:17. For extended discussion on the question of how to interpret τὰ ἴδια/οἱ ἴδιοι in v. 11, see the in-depth treatment of Pryor 1990.

111 Hengel 2008, 279.

112 See again p. 148 above.

of God and thus live into their image-bearing role in the world is simply *not true*. As the likes of Joseph and Solomon among others could be marshalled in to illustrate, it is simply not true that *all* people since Adam have rejected the Word/Light/Wisdom/Law of God and thus failed to recover (in whatever measure) the glory of the pre-fallen Adam. One would have to throw out some of most legendary figures described in scripture to maintain this position.¹¹³

And how does the FE answer this objection? First, he acknowledges the truth of the objection (v. 12). Secondly, he acknowledges this truth in a way that simultaneously exposes and underscores the utter necessity of a new act of God in Jesus, the Word become flesh (v. 13). More specifically, I would like to suggest the possibility (with appropriate reservations) that the FE acknowledges these two truths—the truth that: (a) some did recover the glory of Adam, and the truth that (b) this did not nullify the need for a new act of God on behalf of humanity—by evoking how these two truths were always operative in Israel's history, as seen from the very beginning in Israel's paradigmatic parents, Abraham and Sarah.

(a) Indeed, despite the fact that Adam, the world and Israel as a whole failed to 'take secure hold of (κατέλαβεν)', 'know (ἔγνων)', 'and take/receive (παρέλαβον)' the Word/Wisdom of God and thereby collectively shine the light of God's glory in the world, this rejection of the Logos after Adam's sin 'was not universally true'.¹¹⁴ There were always some in the world who—despite the darkness around them and, no doubt, in them due to the contagion of sin—received/took hold of (ἔλαβον) the Logos and Light of God and thus became τέκνα θεοῦ. Once again, there do seem to be some initial—if subtle—signs that the unique constellation of language and themes used here by the FE keep us firmly on the map of an *imago*/election conceptuality

113 For example, as briefly mentioned above, Sirach makes a considerable effort to illustrate that as humanity in Adam was given authority to rule over 'all flesh' (17:1–4), so those who partook of the glory of Adam (see Sir 49:16) reified this glory by 'ruling kingdoms', 'counseling intelligently', and 'bringing peace'—i.e. doing what a true Abrahamic/Adamic restored image bearer would do (44:3–6). Rightly, therefore, these glorious ones were 'glorified (ἐδοξάσθησαν) in generations' (44:7). Meeks' (1972) suggestion that vv. 12–13 teach that some in 'the world' and explicitly *not* Israel 'became children of God' is simply not tenable in light of the FE's emphasis on scripture. The reality, as Israel's scriptures and traditions attest, is that some *did* become children of God.

114 Dodd 1953, 281.

with primary reference to the past, especially as viewed from the perspective of Abraham.¹¹⁵

This may be seen in the first place by examining the phrase τέκνα θεοῦ and its equivalents. This phrase is rare in the NT and absent in the Greek OT,¹¹⁶ although the idea of divine parentage is common throughout the ANE and Jewish tradition. Carly Crouch has recently demonstrated that the idea that God is Israel's Father is intimately linked in Israel's scriptures to the idea that Israel's God is the 'Father' of all human beings, made in his image and likeness. In fact, Genesis 1:26–27, in Crouch's estimation, constitutes a 'statement of humanity's divine parentage', a statement that is made explicit in Genesis 5:1–3 where Adam's creation in the 'likeness of God' is extended to Seth's begetting in the 'likeness' and image of Adam, his father.¹¹⁷ This language of divine parentage is then applied to Israel, whom the Lord also 'adopted', 'created' or 'birthed' as a 'son' or 'child' for his own purposes.¹¹⁸

115 All the verbs in vv. 12–13 are aoristic, denoting 'simple past time', an event that 'happened' (Hewett 2009, 92). The present participle πιστεύουσιν modifies the aorist ἔλαβον, and therefore likely refers to the time contemporaneous with the main verb (see Wallace, 614). Thus, 'those who received him (in the past), who went on believing in his name *at that time*' seems to be sense the FE is aiming for. The benefit of using the present instead of aorist participle with reference to 'believing', suggests Wallace, is because 'the NT writers by and large saw *continual* belief as a necessary condition of salvation. Along these lines, it seems significant that the *promise* of salvation is almost always given to ὁ πιστεύων . . . almost never to ὁ πιστεύσας' (Wallace, 621 n. 22, emphasis original). The FE's reference to the past could refer, of course, to Jesus' ministry or a more distant referent. My own position is that the FE is referring to the response of some to the Pre-incarnate Logos. Nonetheless, because the past in the FE's mind provides the precedent for the future, the FE may at once be rightly seen as adumbrating a fundamental dynamic of his Gospel. For an early survey of scholars who do and do not find v. 12 as referring to a more distant historical period, see Brown 1966, 1:28–9.

116 The appellation is used only nineteen times in the NT, twice in the FG (1:12; 11:52), twice in the Synoptic Gospels (Matt 3:9; Luke 3:8) eight times in the letters of Paul (Rom 8:16, 17, 21; 9:8 [3×]; Eph 5:1; Phi 2:15), and another nine times in 1 John (3:1, 2, 10 [4×]; 4:4; 5:2 [2×]).

117 After surveying a host of biblical and extrabiblical texts, Crouch concludes: 'It is evident from these passages that the exilic and post-exilic conception of God in the role of divine parent was connected to the recognition of God as creator of humankind. For Gen 1:26–7 to make a statement affirming this connection is perfectly in tune with the understanding of God presented by contemporary texts' (Crouch 2010, 13–14). Also see Kline 2000, 45. More on this subject below.

118 E.g. cf. Num 11:12; Ezek 16:1–20. See also the discussions in Bultmann 1971, 58; Moritz 2011, Chapter 10.

That the FE uses the phrase ‘children of God’ in the prologue in order to evoke a similar *imago*/election stream of thought is not only apparent, perhaps, by still yet residual echoes of John 1:1, ἐν ἀρχῇ, but in the parallel language used in John 8:31–59. In this passage, Jesus’ dispute with ‘the Jews’ hinges on the Jews’ assumption that their being children of Abraham entails their being children of God: ὁ πατήρ ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ ἐστιν (8:39); ἓνα πατέρα ἔχομεν τὸν θεόν (8:41). Apparently for these Jews, to be a child of Abraham is to be a child of God. The two are one. Critically, Jesus does not disagree with this valuation. But he does qualify it. One may be a σπέρμα Ἀβραάμ (a ‘seed’ of Abraham; 8:37), says Jesus, without being a τέκνον τοῦ Ἀβραάμ (‘child of Abraham; 8:39). This is true because it is axiomatic that to be a τέκνον, as opposed to a mere physical σπέρμα, is to be a true likeness of one’s father.¹¹⁹ Thus, if Abraham received the Word of God with trust and loving hospitality (8:37–8),¹²⁰ so must his children.¹²¹ If Jesus represents God the Father and speaks his word, then these Jews, if truly children of God, would also listen to and love Jesus.¹²² The fact that these Jews do not do so, therefore, disproves their claim to be τέκνα of Abraham/τέκνα of God—even though they are Abraham’s σπέρμα.

Again, the point in John 8 seems to be that because Abraham himself proved himself to be a child of God, participating in the true likeness of God as seen in his behaviour, so must those who claim to be children of Abraham show themselves to be true children of God, which is to say, human beings restored in the likeness of their Divine Father.¹²³ As it is, says Jesus, the Jews’ present action in trying to kill him proves that they are actually children of

119 This is a consistent theme in the NT in relationship to both Father God and Father Abraham. As Ephesians 5:1 implies when it says, ‘Therefore be imitators of God, as beloved children (ὡς τέκνα ἀγαπητά)’. 1 John makes this explicit at multiple points (1 John 2:29–3:3; 3:910; 4:7–8, 12; 5:18–21), as I discuss further under n. 125 below. Also see the discussion in Rhoads 2004, 286–7.

120 See Williams 2011a.

121 ‘Εἰ τέκνα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ἐστε, τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ἐποιεῖτε’ (8:39).

122 ‘Εἰ ὁ θεὸς πατήρ ὑμῶν ἦν ἡγαπάτε ἂν ἐμέ, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξῆλθον καὶ ἦκα’ (8:42).

123 Cf. Moloney 1998b, 281; Boyarin 2001, 275–6, who each draw a connection between the ‘children of Abraham’ in John 8 and the ‘children of God’ in the prologue. Temple says: ‘The writers of the New Testament all observe a certain use of language which has deep significance. They often imply that God is the Father of all men; but they do not speak of all men as His children; that expression is reserved for those who, by the grace of God, are enabled in some measure to reproduce His character’ (Temple 1939, 11).

their πατρός, τοῦ διαβόλου, a liar and murderer ἀπ' ἀρχῆς.¹²⁴ With this allusion that harkens back to the creation and fall story, it can be seen that the concepts of being children of Abraham and children of God in the Johannine mind are not only interlinked but protologically rooted. Consequently, the meaning that is made explicit in John 8 may be inferred in John 1:12. Namely, although most in history since Adam 'in the beginning' failed to be 'children of God', which is to say 'light' (re. 1:4, 9), some nevertheless did become (γενέσθαι) τέκνα θεοῦ, which is to say, sons and daughters who (at least in some measure) were renewed in the likeness of their Heavenly Father, empowered to mediate his glory and rule in the world.¹²⁵ It does seem to be of significance in this regard that Jesus first calls himself the 'Light of the world' in John 8:12 and then in 9:5 immediately prior to and following his dispute with the Jews over being true children. The sense is that the one who truly embodies the Law/light, and therefore manifests the true glory/light of a human being, is the one who may be called a true child of God.

That the FE is indeed potentially thinking along these vocational lines in 1:12 is supported by his choice to preface the phrase 'children of God' with ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν, 'he gave them authority/the right/power'.¹²⁶ This coupling of δίδωμι with ἐξουσία (that is, δίδωμι + ἐξουσία in any forms) occurs only thirty-five times in the OT, NT, and OT Apocrypha, and in all but two instances denotes an officially sanctioned (or parodied) authority conferred by a superior

124 Cf. Wis 2:23–4: 'Because God created human beings for incorruption and made them the image of his own nature, but through the envy of the devil death entered the world, and those who belong to his party experience it' (NETS).

125 Further support for this reading may be found in a variety of other works. 1 John, for example, is consumed with the idea that those who claim fellowship with God through his Son should act like God by obeying his commands (chs 1–2). This is true because being like God in the present certifies that one is rightly called a 'child of God', 'born of God': 'You may be sure that everyone who does right is born of him (ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγέννηται). See what great love the Father has given us, that we should be called children of God (τέκνα θεοῦ)'. Further, although the community's calling to be like God *may* be (even if it *should not* be) a battle because the 'darkness' of 'sin' and of the 'evil one' persist, when God 'appears', the 'children of God' (τέκνα θεοῦ) shall at long last 'be like him (ὅμοιοι αὐτῷ ἐσόμεθα)' (3:2; cf. Gen 1:26, 'ὁμοίωσιν'). Also cf. Matt 3:8–9; Luke 3:8; Rom 8:16; 9:7; and David Rhoads' take on the purpose of Paul's letter to the Galatians: 'to reclaim the gentile believers of Galatia as children of Abraham, as inheritors of God's blessing to Abraham, and thereby as children of God' (Rhoads 2004).

126 On ἐξουσίαν meaning 'empowerment', see discussion in Brown 1966, 1:10–11.

to an inferior for a specifically identified task.¹²⁷ This is done, for example, by human kings to their subjects;¹²⁸ God—or God in Jesus—to human subjects;¹²⁹ and this coupling is also used several times in Adamic and/or covenantal contexts.¹³⁰ Although much that is salient could be said about these references, the point to be underscored is that in almost every instance when the verb *δίδωμι* is coupled to the noun *ἐξουσία*, the meaning denoted is of an officially sanctioned authority/power conferred by a superior to an inferior for a specifically identified task, and usually a politically-charged one, whether on a provincial or cosmic scale. This strongly suggests that the FE's announcement in John 1:12—staged as it is on a cosmic or epic background that places humanity's creation and loss of light at the centre of its concern—might be understood in the same way, despite its elided nature.¹³¹

Thus, it might be suspected, the declaration that God gave authority to some (*ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν*) to become 'children of God' despite the massive failure of the many denotes a new status for these individuals. It also denotes the officially sanctioned *empowerment* to engage in a specifically defined role—viz.,

127 1 Ma. 1:13; 10:6, 8; 11:58; Prov 17:14; Eccl 10:5; Sir 17:2; 45:17; Dan 5:7, 29; 7:12, 14; Dat. 7:6; Matt 10:1; 21:23; 28:18; Mark. 6:7; 11:28; Luke 4:6; 9:1; 10:19; John. 1:12; 5:27; 17:2; 2 Co. 10:8; 13:10; Rev 2:26; 6:8; 9:3; 13:4–5, 7; 17:13. The meanings in Prov 17:4 and Eccl 10:5 are more poetic. The false trinity parodies the authority of God in Rev 13:4, 7.

128 Thus it is that: King Demetrius authorizes Jonathan (*ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν*) to suit up for war (1 Macc 10:6, 8); King Antiochus authorizes Jonathan (*ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ἐξουσίαν*) 'to drink from gold cups and dress in purple and wear a gold buckle' (i.e. to present himself and act as an official member of the ruling caste); (1 Macc 11:58); and King Belshazzar authorizes Daniel (*ἔδωκεν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ*) to rule as his third in command (Dan 5:29; cf. 5:7).

129 Thus it is that: God authorizes (*ἐξουσία ἐδόθη αὐτῇ*) a third beast to rule in Daniel's vision (Dan 7:6 TH); God gives Jesus all authority (*ἐδόθη μοι πάντα ἐξουσία*) in heaven and earth for the purpose of redemption (Matt 28:18–20); and Jesus authorizes the disciples (*ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν*) to cast out demons, heal diseases, and tread upon serpents and scorpions (cf. Matt 10:1; Mark 6:7; Luke 9:1; 10:19).

130 Thus it is that: the heavenly 'Son of Man' in Daniel 7 is empowered to rule (*ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία*) with 'all glory' (*πάντα δόξα*) over 'all peoples, nations, and languages' (Dan 7:14); Jesus as a new Adam/Israel in Luke's temptation narrative is coaxed by the Devil to worship him, whereupon the Devil promises to give him all the authority (*σοὶ δώσω τὴν ἐξουσίαν*) and glory (*δόξαν*) of the world's kingdoms (Luke 4:6); and, finally, Sirach reminds his audience in Sir 17:1–4 that the man (*ἄνθρωπος*) whom the Lord created from the dust of the earth in his own image (*κατ' εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ*) to exercise dominion over 'all flesh' (*ἐπὶ πάσης σαρκός*) was given this authority (*ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν*) by God.

131 In other words, the text does not spell out for us what, specifically, the 'children of God' are authorized for.

that of being ‘the children of God’. This role, as just shown, is taken by the FE himself in John 8 to concern not only being like Father Abraham but being like Father God as duly legitimate ‘offspring’, human beings who possess the character and attributes of God.¹³² These children, then, like Jesus, may become the ‘light of the world’.¹³³

Consequently, it would not seem too much of a stretch to imagine that the FE’s declaration in v. 12 that the Word ‘empowered’ or ‘gave some the right’ to become ‘children of God’ is intended to acknowledge the reality of a past reinvestiture and re-enablement of the divine image and glory in some, whether

132 Cf. Acts 17:28–29. Support for this reading is also found in the only other two uses of the coupling of *δίδωμι* and *ἐξουσία* in the FG after 1:12, in 5:27 and 17:2. In these texts, the power given is given explicitly by the ‘Father’ to Jesus the ‘Son’ (*ἐξουσίαν* *ἔδωκεν* *αὐτῷ* / *ἔδωκας* *αὐτῷ* *ἐξουσίαν*) for specifically identified purposes—to ‘judge’, on the one hand (5:27), and to rule over ‘all flesh’ on the other (17:2). Within the contexts of John 5 and 17, these tasks are explicitly related to divinely sanctioned ‘work’ (5:17, 20, 36; 17:4). This work is on behalf of (or with) the ‘Father’ as ‘the Son of Man’ (5:27), or as the ‘Son’ who has been put over ‘all flesh’ (*πάσης σαρκός*) (17:2), in order to ‘reveal’ (*φανερώω*; 17:6) the Father, bring ‘life’, and to ‘glorify’ (*δοξάζω*) the Father as one who is and has always been brimming with ‘glory’ (*δόξα*) (5:41, 44; 17:1, 4, 5, 10, 19, 22, 24). All of these themes, as shown in Chapter 4, and especially their collocation, have strong associations with traditional Jewish theological anthropology as it intersects with temple theology.

The same dynamic may be observed in Revelation, where the coupling of *δίδωμι* and *ἐξουσίαν* is more concentrated than in any other work. Within Revelation, heavenly and earthly agents are ‘given authority’ by different agents for different purposes. In the first instance, the saints are promised that they will ‘be given authority’ over the nations (Rev 2:26), a statement that is reminiscent of God’s covenant to Abraham (e.g., Gen 17:3–6) and Israel’s King (e.g., Ps 2). Heavenly figures are twice ‘given authority’ to exercise eschatological judgment (Rev 6:8; 9:2). Another three times two beastly figures are ‘given authority’ from a dragon to win the worship of many, to rule ‘over every tribe, people, language, and nation’, and to wage war against the saints (13:4, 5, 7). The deception of this false trinity over humanity peaks in the last beast’s success in getting the would-be image-bearers of God to worship the image (*εἰκόνα*) of the beast (perhaps a reference to the ‘image’ of Caesar and/or political earthly leaders in general: see Beale 1999, 710). The irony of this action comes out more clearly when the association to the story of Daniel and his friends is caught. For in this tale, while the many bow to Nebuchadnezzar’s ‘image’ (*εἰκόνα*: Nebuchadnezzar’s ‘image’ is referred to no less than 10x in Daniel 3; see Dan 3: 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 10, 12, 14, 15, 18) and thereby in effect destroy themselves, relinquishing their birthright as image bearers of God, the true worshipers of Yahweh cannot be destroyed in Nebuchadnezzar’s idol-smelting furnace, precisely because they are God’s true idols (see Fletcher-Louis 2012, 130).

133 E.g., John 12:36; cf. Matt 5:14; Acts 13:47; Rom 2:19; Eph 5:8; 1 Thess 5:5; 1 Pet 2:9; Rev 21:24.

they were found in the line of Abraham or, it would seem, in the wider Gentile world.¹³⁴

(b) Yet, it is critical to clarify that despite this frank acknowledgment, the FE will not allow for the idea that those who were empowered to become children of God after Adam's fall did so by virtue of their own flesh-borne brawn, as those in whom the power of life was intrinsic or the jejunity of sin held no more sway. To the contrary, the emphasis of vv. 12 and 13 is on the reality of a human frailty and flesh-borne impotence, on the one hand, and the supernatural and gracious renewal of God, on the other. People did not become 'children of God' after Adam's transgression because of a strength intrinsic to themselves. They became children because, in conjunction with a simple faith and trust, God 'empowered' them (v. 12).¹³⁵ Likewise, people did not become 'children of God' by virtue of their parent's flesh-borne striving to give them 'birth'. They became God's children because they were 'born of God' (v. 13).

In other words, and more associatively, there seems to be some space to envision that vv. 12–13 are subtly indicating that the way people became children of God in the past is in the same way as the legendary father and mother of Israel, Abraham and Sarah—at once paragons of faith (v. 12) and paradigms of bodily weakness (v. 13)—became children of God, and bore children of God, after the 'fall' of Adam. After all, it was this couple who, after 'believing' in God, conceived and gave birth to a child of God, expressly not by their own striving (e.g. Ishmael, the child of 'flesh'), but via the power of God working through their bodies that were 'as good as dead' (e.g. Isaac, the child of 'promise'). I will comment more thoroughly on the FE's apparent motive for establishing this foundational frame of reference momentarily.¹³⁶ Because there does not appear to be a single commentator who has heard this evocation, however, and because this suggested association must indeed

¹³⁴ See Dodd 1953, 282.

¹³⁵ Cf., LEH, 7212, where 'to trust' is listed as the primary meaning of πιστεύω; and EDNT 4190, 2.B.2, where the noun πίστις is said to mean 'Trust which one puts into practice, *faith*' with God as object. Trust in God precedes God's empowerment to live a new life. This is also the sense conveyed at the end of the FG when the FE announces that he has written so that you 'might believe' or 'continue to believe (πιστεύ[σ]ητε) that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God' so that (ἵνα) believing (πιστεύοντες) you might have life in his name (ζωὴν ἔχητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ) (20:31). Clearly, empowerment to live a new life follows 'believing'.

¹³⁶ Although Boyarin and Waetjen interpret vv. 12 and 13 as acknowledging an exception to the general note of the Logos' rejection within Israel, neither comment on the FE's motive for putting things the way he does here. Nor do these authors see a reference to the narrative of Abraham and Sarah. See Boyarin 2001, 278–9; Waetjen 2005, 75–6.

be considered quite tentatively (because, professedly, the signals are not unarguable), I must first attempt to establish this association's baseline reasonability.¹³⁷

Those who were 'empowered to become children of God', says the FE in v. 12, were 'as many as received him', that is, 'the ones believing in his name'. By all accounts, the memory of Abraham may be found resonating within the notion of 'believing' (πιστεύουσιν) as well as in the more specific notion of believing 'in his name' (ὄνομα).

As several NT authors exhibit, and Francis Watson has convincingly demonstrated with special reference to Paul, to speak, in the first instance, about the salvation of human beings that comes by 'believing' alone is to invoke a 'hermeneutic of faith' rooted in potent (or *im*-potent) memories of Abraham, the covenantal father of all true children of God begun in Isaac.¹³⁸ Abraham was a paragon of faith according to the early church precisely because he was the one who, when promised the impossible child along with Sarah, 'believed God (ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβραμ τῷ θεῷ)' and it was 'reckoned' to him as 'righteousness (δικαιοσύνην)'.¹³⁹ So, too, the FE might be saying (in line with these reminiscences) that those who 'became' children of God instead of mere seed during the career of the pre-incarnate Logos did not do so by virtue of their own inherent strength but simply because they, like Abraham, 'believed' (πιστεύουσιν). They entrusted themselves in a condition of physical death to the God who promises life beyond death—and thus received the life that was promised.

It may be rejoined, of course, that positing an Abrahamic background in v. 12 fails due to the FE's different object of faith. While Abraham is credited with righteousness for believing in 'God' (τῷ θεῷ), as both the LXX and above texts attest,¹⁴⁰ the object of belief for the FE is not 'God' *per se* but 'the Word' (ὁ λόγος). This objection is ameliorated by several observations. In the first place, Genesis 15 may have been read or heard (or been able to be read or heard) differently in the Second Temple period than it tends to be read or heard today. This is especially true with reference to the concept of God's personifications or hypostases in the world. As Gieschen concludes after surveying terms and figures like the 'Word', 'Name', and 'Glory' of God as they occur

137 In all probability, it seems that commentators have not envisioned this association because vv. 12–13 are normally taken as referring to events in the career of the Logos *ensarkos*, rather than referring to events (or *also* referring to the events) in the career of the Logos *asarkos*.

138 See Watson 2004, Chapter 1 (*passim*); 168–219 *passim*.

139 See, e.g., Rom 4:3; Gal 3:6; Jam 2:23.

140 The Hebrew text has 'Lord'.

in Second Temple literature: '[I]t is valid to speak of hypostases as aspects of God that have degrees of distinct personhood'. Furthermore,

[i]t should be emphasized that our modern ways of conceptualization often resist giving a degree of personhood to these divine attributes or aspects. In spite of this, the textual evidence leads us to understand a world view that is based much more on *tangible forms* than *abstract* concepts. Thus, Name, Glory, Wisdom, Word, Spirit, and Power are not primarily abstract concepts in this world view; they are realities with visible forms.¹⁴¹

This is a significant insight with reference to Gen 15:6 and/or traditions surrounding it. For 'the Word of the LORD (דְּבַר יְהוָה / ῥῆμα κυρίου) came to Abram', the author of Genesis states, to remind elect Abram that he is Abram's protector and reward (Gen 15:1). Abram, in response, decries his childless (ἄτεκος) state (15:2–3), to which the narrator again announces that 'the word of the LORD (דְּבַר יְהוָה / φωνή κυρίου) came to him' promising him 'a son from his own body' (15:4). Abram then responds in faith to this 'word' of the Lord (15:6). Naturally, if the 'word of the LORD' could have been taken in a personified or hypostatic sense by some in the Second Temple period, then it may also have been taken by the FE—or at least retrospectively taken by the FE to insinuate—that Abraham's reception of 'the Word' was the reception of a verbal act by a plenipotentiary, a person. Precedent for this reading is found in Philo. Abraham did not encounter 'the LORD' in Genesis 15, according to Philo, he encountered God's Logos.¹⁴² The same was true of Abraham when he reached the summit of Mt Moriah. Philo 'understands the place to which Abraham arrived to be the Logos'.¹⁴³ Not insignificantly, the FE is also convinced that an interaction *had* taken place between Abraham and the pre-incarnate Jesus, the very name (ἐγὼ εἰμι) of God:

The Jews then said to him, "You are not yet fifty years old, and have you seen Abraham?" Jesus said to them, "Truly, truly, I say to you, before Abraham was, I am (ἐγὼ εἰμι)" (8:57–58).

¹⁴¹ Gieschen 1998, 122.

¹⁴² With reference to *Migr.* 31, as noted in Argyle 1952, 386.

¹⁴³ Patterson 2012, 122; cf. *Somm.* 1.65–71. In Philo's view, concludes Patterson, 'Abraham . . . does not (and cannot) see God, but only the divine Logos. . . . Philo's meaning could not be clearer: God is seen only in the Logos' (122, 123). Cf. *Ps.-J.* Gen 15:6.

As with this passage from John 8, which links the 'name', I AM, with Abraham, the FE's clarification in 1:12 that some in the past also believed εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ reinforces the sense that the FE is evoking a traditionally-apprehended Abrahamic background in the prologue. For besides Philo's identification of the Logos with the Name of God (*Conf.* 146), it is only Seth, Abraham, and Isaac who are said in Genesis to 'call' ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου. Apparently, 'calling on the name of the Lord' was a paradigmatic exercise for Israel's paradigmatic fathers.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, it is notable that these occurrences in Genesis of calling on the Name of the Lord are the only times that such an action happens in the narrative books of scripture. This is a salient insight when narrative's indispensability to the commemorative and mnemonic needs of orally/aurally embedded cultures is remembered.¹⁴⁵ If memory is best stimulated and ensured when affixed to concrete images located in time and space that have been narratively organized by a succession of events, then the idea of calling on the name of the Lord may indeed have been a powerful stimulus for arousing these foundational patriarchal memories. This is especially true with reference to Abraham, who is said to 'call on the name of the Lord' threefold more than the other two patriarchs.¹⁴⁶

It may be objected, of course, that the FE makes no mention of a 'calling' on the name of the Lord; he refers only to 'believing' in the name of the Lord. This is true. Nonetheless, besides the thoroughgoing association of Abraham with 'believing', as just demonstrated, it must also be taken as significant that this act specifically of 'calling on the name of the Lord' is represented in several texts of scripture as a veritable act of faith and trust.¹⁴⁷ In other words, it may be fairly said that the one who 'calls (ἐπικαλέω) on the name of the Lord' does so as a vocalized expression of their trust or believing (πιστεύω) 'in the name of the Lord'. Furthermore, this action of calling or trusting in the name of the Lord is closely associated (if not directly connected) in some of these texts to the foundational faith of Abraham, Isaac, and/or Jacob.

144 This action of calling on the name of the Lord may have been understood as an action directed to the epiphany or reality of God seated 'enthroned on the cherubim' in his cosmic holy of holies (e.g., see 2 Sam 6:2). In mystical texts, as noted above (p. 165), this figure is typically the anthropomorphic glory of God; in Philo this figure is the Logos.

145 See again Chapter 2 above.

146 Cf. Gen 4:26; 12:8; 13:4; 21:33; 26:25.

147 Cf. Ps 99:6–8 (LXX 98); Joel 2:32 (LXX 3:5); Zeph 3:8–12; Lam 3:55; Acts 2:21; Rom 10:13.

Psalm 105's opening verbal injunction for the community to 'Acknowledge the Lord, and ἐπικαλεῖσθε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ', for example, is followed by a string of twelve more verbal injunctions, the last of which—i.e. the climactic fourteenth, to 'remember the wonderful things which [the Lord]' has done—is explicitly addressed to Israel as the 'offspring (σπέρμα) of Abraam, his slaves, sons of Iakob, his chosen' (Psalm 105:1–6 [104:1–6]), NETS).¹⁴⁸ In this way, the psalmist grounds his preliminary summons for the community to 'acknowledge' and 'call on the name' of the Lord with the reminder that Israel is the offspring of Abraham and Jacob—i.e. they are the offspring of those prototypical fathers who 'called on the name of the Lord' and were saved via the covenant through Abraham. As the Psalmist *does* then remind the community in the following verses: 'O offspring of Abraam, his slaves, sons of Iakob, his chosen'—

The Lord himself is our God . . . He remembered his covenant forever, a word that he commanded for a thousand generations—that he pledged to Abraam—and his oath to Isaak And he established it for Iakob as an ordinance, and for Israel as an everlasting covenant (Ps 105:7–10, NETS).

This connection between calling on the name of the Lord and Abraham's seminal faith is also apparent in the letters of Paul.¹⁴⁹

Thus, when the FE says that those who 'believed in his name' were given the authority/empowered to 'become children of God', it may be taken to mean that those who were restored (in whatever measure) to function as the image of God were so restored because they did what the patriarchs, and especially Abraham, did. They simply, though stalwartly, believed. Put otherwise, we might say that the FE is recalling for his audience in v. 12 the seminal response that Second Isaiah once attempted to call forth from the people of God in exile: 'Let him who walks in the dark, who has no light, trust in the name of the Lord (πεποιθήατε ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου)' (50:10). In other words, Isaiah clarifies:

¹⁴⁸ On the division and poetics of the first six verses of this Psalm, see NETS, 599; and Fokkelman 2002, 110.

¹⁴⁹ In Romans, for example, Paul insists that the only way to achieve 'righteousness' and become a true child of Abraham/child of God is through an Abrahamic faith/believing (4:3–17; 9:6b–7; cf. again John 8:33–47). This act of believing is an action of the heart that Paul directly equates with scripture's injunction to 'call on the name of the Lord'. 'One believes (πιστεύεται) with the heart and so is justified . . . The scripture says, "No one who believes (ὁ πιστεύων) in him will be put to shame." . . . For, "Everyone who calls on the name of the Lord shall be saved"'. (10:10, 11, 13).

Look to the rock from which you were hewn . . . Look to Abraham your father and to Sarah who bore you; for he was but one when I called him, but I blessed him and made him many (Isa 51:1b–2).

In short, Israel, according to Isaiah, must go back to their foundations. They must embody the same radical trust exhibited by Abraham and Sarah.¹⁵⁰ This is exactly, I am suggesting, the founding reality quit possibly being evoked in v. 12. Some people did become children of God in the past, the FE acknowledges; and they did so not because of a strength intrinsic to themselves, but because they took secure hold of an Abrahamic faith in the 'Logos' and 'Name' of God.

Philo would seem to agree with this way of formulating the matter. For the only way to become a 'son of God', according to Philo, recast in the image of glory, is by the 'Logos', the 'Name' of God:

[I]f there be any as yet unfit to be called a son of God (huios Theou), let him press to take his place under God's first-born, the logos . . . he is called "the Beginning," and the Name of God and his logos, and the Man after the image, and "he that sees," that is Israel. . . . [I]f you have not yet become fit to be thought sons of God, yet we may be sons of his invisible image, the most holy logos.¹⁵¹

The probability—or, at least, possibility—that the FE is arousing memories of Abraham in v. 12 seems increased by what is said in v. 13. For it was precisely Abraham and Sarah's ruthless trust in God, their 'believing'—and not their fleshly potency—that eventually brought them the child of promise. As the FE appears to summarize: in contradistinction to Ishmael's birth, which came about by Abraham and Sarah's own fleshly will (as it would have been understood in the first century) to mingle Abram's 'seed' with Hagar's 'blood' (when, ostensibly, Sarah's 'blood' was no longer flowing; i.e., she was post-menopausal), Isaac's birth, paradigmatic for all true Israel's subsequent births, came about (and notice the singular nouns in the second two clauses, with potential reference to the one man Abraham, and the plural 'bloods', with reference to the two women Sarah and Hagar)—

150 As also understood by Brueggeman 1998, 124–6.

151 *Conf.* 146–7, as quoted in Tobin 1990. Also see Steenburg, who observes that Philo's Logos, 'the man made in the image of God . . . [and] heavenly man', is *also* 'the true *father of men* . . . one of the two men put in Eden and called the father of the virtuous (*Leg.* 1.31, 53)' (Steenburg 1990, 104, emphasis mine).

οὐκ ἐξ	αἱμάτων
οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος	σαρκὸς
οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος	ἀνδρός
ἀλλ' ἐκ	θεοῦ ἐγεννήθησαν. ¹⁵²

Remarkably, in *Leg.* 3:219, Philo states that ‘the expression, “has caused,” (ἐποίησεν)’ in the story of Isaac’s birth as recorded in Genesis 21:7 ‘is equivalent to “has begotten” (ἐγέννησεν)’. Thus, he concludes, ‘what is here said [in Gen 21:7] has some such meaning as this, “The Lord has begotten Isaac” (Ἰσαὰκ ἐγέννησεν).’¹⁵³ It is hard to know, of course, if there was a wider tradition around this understanding of Isaac’s being ‘born of God’ in the first century or whether this was an example of Philo’s novelty.

Notwithstanding the uncertainties surrounding Philo, *multiple* thinkers in the early church and elsewhere were keen to understand and celebrate Isaac’s miraculous birth by believing Abraham and Sarah, *despite* their ‘as good as dead’ bodies.¹⁵⁴ Paul in particular summarizes this seminal story of Isaac’s birth with explicit reference to the congenital weaknesses of the σὰρξ. Isaac, Paul insists, was born δι’ ἐπαγγελίας, and expressly not κατὰ σάρκα; he thereby became a child of the future τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ. Ishmael, however, was born expressly κατὰ σάρκα instead of δι’ ἐπαγγελίας; and thus Ishmael became a child of the future τὰ τέκνα τῆς σαρκὸς.¹⁵⁵ As will be apparent, this language used by Paul with reference to Isaac dovetails with the central terms and point being made by the FE in vv. 12–13, once again underlining the possibility that memories of Isaac are in view in v. 13.

In sum, the grammar of salvation in antiquity was not only the grammar of God. The grammar of salvation was also the grammar of Abraham, the paradigmatic father of all true children of Israel who were born, like Isaac, not by the power of flesh but by the pertinacity of faith. In several instances, this faith was not simply and only generically placed in ‘God’ but in the ‘Logos’ and/or

¹⁵² All of the language here references the natural means of physical birth that comes about by the fecundity and partnering of a man and woman. Wis 7:1–2 makes this clear: ‘I myself am mortal like everyone’, says the pseudonymous Solomon, ‘and a descendant of the first-formed individual born on earth’ and in the womb of a mother I was molded into flesh (σὰρξ) within the period of ten months being compacted of blood (αἷματι), from the seed of man (ἐκ σπέρματος ἀνδρός) and the pleasure that accompanies intercourse’ (NETS). Also see the discussion of Greco-Roman views of embryology in Reinhartz 1999.

¹⁵³ Philo follows a similar train of thought in *Det.* 1:124.

¹⁵⁴ See, e.g., Heb 11:8–12; Rom 4:18–22; *TAb.* 6:5; 8:6; *Jub.* 15:17–16:3; *Leg.* 3:85, 218. Also see the excellent discussion of Rom 4:18–22 in Watson 2004, 217–19.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Rom 9:6–9 and Gal 4:22–31.

'Name' of God. Given the FE's similar emphases, there seems to be sufficient grounds to suspect that the FE also intended to evoke foundational memories of both the saving faith and residual struggles of Abraham and Sarah in vv. 12 and 13.

5.3.4.1 On the FE's Motive in Evoking Abrahamic Memories in vv. 12–13 Presuming there is at least a basic level of credibility to what has just been proposed, I may now comment on the question of motive. Why would the FE want to evoke this story and emphasize these facts from it? In addition to previewing and grounding major themes to be developed in the body of the Gospel,¹⁵⁶ verses 12 and 13 appear to possess two different rhetorical and theological functions within the prologue itself.

On the one hand, as we have already mentioned, verse 12 seems to answer the anticipated objection to the FE's theological emphasis that Adam, the world, and Israel all failed to receive the Word/Wisdom of God and thus also failed to function as true likenesses and revelations of God in God's cosmic temple. Some did not fail to do so, the FE acknowledges in this verse. Instead, precisely because they embraced the same radical trust in the Logos and Name that Abraham exhibited at the very beginning of Israel's history, they were empowered to live as 'children of God', renewed in the likeness of God, instead of as mere physical 'seed'.

On the other hand, the FE then qualifies in v. 13, the fact that some who exhibited an Abrahamic faith were empowered to begin living and functioning in the world again like Adam before his fall did not and does not mean that a new act of God in Jesus was unnecessary. On the contrary, as exhibited immediately and unarguably in the same story of Abraham and Sarah at the onset of Israel's history, and then also played out in the patriarchal narratives of Isaac and Jacob, even though some were restored as children of God—which is to say, even though some were restored as functioning glory-filled image-bearers (empowered to do things like set up proto-temples for God)—there was still an ongoing problem with humanity in glaring need of redress. Namely, if to be

¹⁵⁶ Likely in order to underscore the continuity of God's action (and human's responses to that action) in history. For example, people's responses to Jesus, their 'believing' or 'not believing', is a major theme of the FG. By evoking the founding faith and renewal of Abraham in the prologue, therefore, the FE's motive may have been to demonstrate the quintessential continuity of God's redemptive action in history. To wit: God is the same yesterday, today, and forever; consequently, those who will entrust themselves to the Word and Name of God as Abraham did will be saved, while those who refuse the Word and Name of God (now in Jesus) will show themselves condemned already.

an image-bearer of God before the fall entailed the possibility of fulfilling the vocation to be fruitful and fill the earth with additional image-bearers so that the glory of God could fill the earth as the waters cover the sea; and if this glorious task could be *commanded* to Adam and Eve, as it was (Gen 1:28); then the fact that even those like Abraham and Sarah, who *were* empowered to become children of God again, could not likewise generate children of God on their own but required this legacy via *promise* and the supernatural intervention of God on behalf of their weak flesh, points to a massive ongoing problem.

The problem, of course, as Genesis shows and a variety of scriptural and Second Temple texts tell, is that, because Adam was the representative over ‘all flesh’ (e.g., Sir 17:4), all flesh continued to participate in the representational ‘flesh’ of Adam. It is a legacy of sin and death.¹⁵⁷ Critically, this dark legacy held sway even over those who were saved—and most clearly in physical ways: i.e. insofar as it affected their ‘flesh’. For example, as Genesis shows and the FE now seems to allude to, the dust of sin and death complicated image-bearer’s entrance into the world, so that the power to produce children of God is no longer inherent even to a (partially) restored humanity, but comes only as a supernatural gift.¹⁵⁸ And the dust of sin and death also complicated one’s endurance in the world, so that even the most righteous of the restored who had received the Spirit and wisdom, and thereby had begun to function gloriously again like true Adams in the world, were stolen away from the world by death. The righteous die as surely as dominoes fall, according to Genesis 5, so that one is now led to suspect that, tragically, to be in the ‘likeness’ of Adam (Gen 5:3) means to be destined for an end in death (Gen 5:5, 8, 11, 14, 17, 17, 31).¹⁵⁹ The wise man, says Sirach, will meditate on this fact, the fact that, due to the legacy of Adam, all flesh withers and dies:

157 See, e.g., 1Qs 11 7, 9, 12 1QM 4:3; *T. Jud* 19:4; *T. Zeb.* 9:7; Rom 5:12, 14; 1 Cor 15:21–22. After surveying a wide range of ANE creation myths, Gese says: ‘The ancient myths show us that death, the cessation of one’s participation in the cosmos of light and order, was felt as *the* central problem of human existence, as the basic anthropological fact that does not fully correspond to the order of creation’ (Gese 1981, 38–9). The fundamental assumption of the author of the Wisdom of Solomon is that ‘God created human beings for incorruption’, in ‘the image of his own nature’ (2:23). It was only ‘though the envy of the Devil’, presumably of humanity’s exalted status, ‘that death entered the world’ (2:24a).

158 Cf. Hos 9:11, which links the glory of human beings with the capacity to bear children (i.e. multiply the image) and the loss of this glory with God’s punishment for sin: ‘Ephraim’s glory (δόξα) shall fly away like a bird—no birth, no pregnancy, no conception!’

159 Or, in the exceptional case of Enoch, and perhaps Elijah, the righteous are whisked away to avoid it. Nonetheless, Abraham is buried (25:10), along with Jacob (50:13); Joseph’s bones are carted off in an ossuary (50:25).

All flesh (σὰρξ) becomes old like a garment,
 for the covenant of old is, "By death you shall die!"
 Like a sprouting leaf on a thickly leaved tree,
 some it sheds, but others it puts forth;
 so is a generation of flesh and blood (σαρκὸς καὶ αἵματος),
 the one dies and the other is born (γεννᾶται) (Sir 14:17–18 NETS).

So, too, insinuates the FE in v. 13, the wise man will take a thought like Sirach's one step farther. For the wise person will also understand the implications of this legacy of death left by Adam. It means that, if Israel is to fulfill its vocation, and if purposive history that is wrapped up with human beings is to be completed, then the arrival of a new flesh that will enable a participation in a new sort of humanity is mandatory. For, once again, unless a new flesh that is un-beguiled by the wiles of sin and death arrives on the scene, even those who are refashioned into God's image will, as the founding parents in the faith Abraham and Sarah illustrate in no uncertain terms, continue to be incapable of *producing* image-bearers, on the one hand, and *preserving* the image bearers who have been produced by God, on the other, as death continues to 'reign' (cf. Rom 5:14, 17, 21).¹⁶⁰ It thus follows that the Abrahamic promise cannot be fulfilled, and history cannot reach its *telos*, if humanity continues to live in identification with the moribund 'flesh' of Adam. God's glory cannot ultimately extend from a cultic centrepiece into the four corners of his cosmic temple. What is needed, therefore, is a new kind of representational Adamic 'flesh'. The promise of God to Abraham requires it.

Notably, besides witnessing this kind of thinking at Qumran,¹⁶¹ Paul himself also tended to think in this way. What the world needed in light of a

160 Significantly, death continues to reign, according to Paul in Rom 5:14, even over those 'who did not sin by breaking a command, as did Adam' (NIV)/ 'whose sins were not like the transgression of Adam' (RSV).

161 As Fletcher-Louis has commented, in 1QM, the community's self-understanding as God's new Adam in the world is inexorably connected to the fate and fulfillment of the cosmos, *including its filling with true image-bearers of God*: 'In 1QM Genesis is . . . combined with Isaiah 6 and at the climax of the passage the two biblical passages overlap to make an explicit identification of the *Endzeit* with the *Urzeit*. Lines 12–15 describe the heart and Israel's palaces *full* of God's Glory. The Glory is literally *worn* by the Israelites themselves (line 15). But the glorious Israelites filling the creation not only satisfies Isaiah 6:3 it also satisfies God's commandment to humanity to "be fruitful and multiply, and *fill* the earth and subdue it . . ." (Gen 1:28). The last two phrases of line 15 neatly combine allusions to Isaiah 6:3 ("deck yourselves in ornaments of Glory . . ." and Genesis 1:28 ("Have dominion over the kingdoms"))' (Fletcher-Louis 2002, 441).

sullied Adamic ‘flesh’, according to Paul, was a new flesh in which to participate.¹⁶² This, he argues in 1 Corinthians 15, is precisely what was received in Jesus. There are ‘different kinds of flesh’ and, not least of all, a different kind of flesh between the first and second Adams.¹⁶³ More importantly, to move from an identification from being in the ‘πρῶτος man’, Adam, to being in the ‘ἔσχατος Adam’, Jesus (15:45), is to move from one σὰρξ—whose legacy is ‘weakness’, ‘dishonour’, and ‘death’—to another σὰρξ—whose legacy is δόξα, ‘power’, and, resurrection ‘life’, i.e. newly embodied, spirit-filled, fleshly life.¹⁶⁴ It is, in other words, to move into a participation in the representative ‘flesh’ of a new Adamic representative who is populating the world with *his* own image and likeness.¹⁶⁵ It is this sort of point that the FE is making more subtly and from a narrative perspective in v. 13.

A first major clue that the FE is indeed attempting to establish a dialectic between the legacy of Adam as it plays out in the vocational frustration of Abraham’s children/seed, on the one hand, and the new legacy begun in Jesus, on the other, is supported by the paradox created between verses 13 and 14 as the first half of the prologue gives way to the second. In v. 13, as we have now seen, we are told via a triplet of negating clauses that a gaping weakness

162 Although Paul’s use of σὰρξ is fairly wide-ranging, his ‘most characteristic use of *sarx*, and his most frequent’, writes R. J. Erickson, ‘is his application of *sarx* to sinful human nature’ (Erickson 1993, 304). Paul also uses *sarx* as it applies ‘to the “world”, humanity’s value systems as they stand in opposition to God’s’ (Erickson 1993, 304).

163 Indeed, Paul reflects while echoing in reverse the progress of creation in the Genesis narrative, ‘not all σὰρξ is alike’, ‘there is one σὰρξ for men (ἀνθρώπων), another σὰρξ for animals (κτηνῶν), another σὰρξ for birds (πτηνῶν), and another for fish (ἰχθύων)’ (cf. Gen 2:22–3; 1:26–8, 24, 20). Each of these creatures in the Genesis narrative are commanded to be fruitful and multiply, and in this way pass on their peculiar σὰρξ from generation to generation. Paul transposes this tralatitious phenomenon into the language of ‘glory’ (δόξα). Each ‘body’ (σώματα), he continues, has its own type of δόξα—the sun of one kind and the moon of another and so on (vv. 40–41). Unfortunately, however, as Adam was divested of glory due to sin, and thus became weak and set on a trajectory towards death, so did he pass this legacy on to those who came from him.

164 To be sure, the life hereafter, according to Paul in 1 Corinthians 15 will *not* be an un-fleshly or disembodied existence. It will be an embodied life, perfectly suited as an abode of the Spirit (see Fee 1994, 262–69; 2007, 114–19).

165 As Benjamin Gladd has argued on the basis of a perceived link between 1 Corinthians 15:45b and Gen 1:26; 2:7; and 5:3, it is to move from being in the image and likeness of the first Adam, who brought a likeness unto death, to being in the image and likeness of the second Adam, who brings a likeness unto resurrection: ‘Just as Adam passed his image on to Seth, so Christ imparts his image to believers’ (Gladd 2009, 309). See the similar conclusions in Hays 1997, 272–3; Wright 2003, 3:340–56; and more recently Chester 2007, 181.

is endemic to human beings, and endemic centrally to their $\sigma\alpha\rho\xi$. But then in v. 14 we are told that the ‘Word became $\sigma\alpha\rho\xi$ ’; an announcement that, as I will argue more fully below, may well have been staggering and well may have been shocking, but, in whatever way it was initially experienced, is a statement that must finally be understood as incredibly positive. For in the very first instance, if the Preexistent Word as a personal being becomes flesh, and in fact mingles its being with flesh as flesh, then flesh takes on new meaning. As Gail O’Day rightly remarks: ‘When the Word becomes flesh, flesh is *at that moment* redeemed.’¹⁶⁶ I will show why this is true from my own perspective momentarily, once I delve more deeply into the connotative range of the term ‘flesh.’¹⁶⁷ It will be worthwhile first, however, to elaborate on the scintillating paradox created at this point in the prologue, and then played out in different keys throughout the Gospel.

Flesh, though nowhere presented as evil in itself, carries negative connotations when used of humans in general but positive connotations when referring to Jesus. As we discover once we pass from verse 13 to 14: flesh is implicitly, if not explicitly, played off somewhat schizophrenically in these verses. It is jejune and potent, inglorious and glorious, divested of the native glory of a child of God and explicitly beaming with the native glory of an only begotten (Son) of God.¹⁶⁸ The juxtapositions surrounding this term continues throughout the Gospel. For while, on the one hand, Jesus will tell Nicodemus in no uncertain terms that those who try by ‘flesh’ to see and enter the kingdom of God will fail because ‘flesh can only give birth to flesh’ and not to ‘Spirit’, Jesus will insist in his bread of life discourse that, on the contrary, when it comes to his ‘flesh’, flesh leads to the reception of ‘eternal life’, flesh actually does give birth to Spirit! In fact, John 6 presents Jesus’ $\sigma\alpha\rho\xi$ as a perfect, sevenfold $\sigma\alpha\rho\xi$.¹⁶⁹ There again, at the climax of this heptad, and with no awareness of contradiction, having just declared that ‘unless you eat the $\sigma\alpha\rho\xi$ of the Son of Man . . . you have no life in you’ (6:53), Jesus then avows that ‘the Spirit gives life; the $\sigma\alpha\rho\xi$ is useless’ (6:63 NRSV). Likewise in John 8 Jesus will brusquely indict the Jews

166 O’Day 1998, 160. Cf. Williams 2000 who notes at the conclusion of her study that a ‘significant feature exhibited by a number of midrashic expositions is their interpretation of God’s pronouncement of אֵלֹהִים אֵלֹהִים as the declaration to be made by God when he manifests his glory to all flesh (Mek Pisha 12). This particular exposition also offers a relatively early illustration of the widespread ancient Jewish interpretation of “I kill and I make alive” (Deut 32:39c) as denoting death in this world and resurrection in the world to come’ (Williams 2000, 305–6).

167 See p. 210 below.

168 In one who is ‘as like’ an ‘only begotten (son)’ from ‘a father’. See discussion below.

169 Cf. John 6:51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 63.

for judging *κατὰ τὴν σάρκα* (8:15), a fallen, ‘worldly’ way of evaluating, according to Jesus, that is bedeviled by a lack of truth (8:16).¹⁷⁰ But then, in the next and last explicit mention of ‘flesh’ in the FG, Jesus prays that the Father might ‘glorify’ the Son so that, as the one who has been granted a life-giving authority and power over ‘all flesh’ (*πάσης σαρκός*), the Son might give ‘eternal life’ to those whom the father has given him; this sounds like the redemption of all flesh as flesh into and unto a new aeon. A similar negative/positive contrast is established with bodily depictions in the FG, whereby Jesus’ flesh and power to heal stands in stark contrast to the bodily ailments around him, and climactically that ‘sickness unto death.’¹⁷¹ In any event, enough has now been said to

170 As in Paul (see n. 162 above), the term *κόσμος* in the FG runs parallel to the concept of ‘flesh’. It is not something inherently evil that God does not love or affirm; but it is something that is clearly infected and suffering due to the consequences of sin. See the excellent discussion in Brown 1966, 1:508–9.

171 This dynamic is especially apparent in the ‘Book of (Seven) Signs’ (see Chapter 5 below). Except for the first and fifth narrated signs, for example (water into wine and water-walking episodes), Jesus is depicted in each sign encountering a physical ill or bodily deficiency. A boy is sick, a man is lame, a crowd is hungry, a man is blind, and, climactically, a man is dead. And even worse: the boy is *near death*, the man has been lame like this for thirty-eight years, the crowd is huge, the man has been blind from birth, and the dead man, Lazarus, is Jesus’ own beloved friend, who has been this way for four days (so that, apparently, his soul has already departed from his body). However, these negative states are handily answered by Jesus—the Word become flesh. It may be objected that my last clause—the Word become flesh—is misplaced because there is no identification of Jesus as ‘the Word’ in the gospel proper, outside of the exceptional prologue. Before this objection is pressed too strongly, however, it should be noted that each time Jesus remedies the problems just outlined, there is what appears to be a conscious de-emphasis on touching and/or a determined avoidance of suggesting that maybe Jesus’ needed to get physical. With the possible exception of the blind man, not once does Jesus ever physically engage with those he is healing or sustaining in the FG. It is a remarkable feature of the FG all on its own. It is triply remarkable when compared to the Synoptics, where Jesus ministry is typified by ‘touching’ (*ἅπτω*). (Cf. Matt 8:3, 15; 9:20–21, 29; 14:36; 17:7; 20:34; Mark. 1:41; 3:10; 5:27–28, 30–31; 6:56; 7:33; 8:22; 10:13; Luke 5:13; 6:19; 7:14; 8:44–47; 18:15; 22:51.) In the FG, Jesus, the ‘word become flesh’, simply says the word, and the benefits of his own perfecting flesh are communicated to others—a signature of his unassailable authority (cf. John 4:50–53; Matt 8:8; Luk 7:7). One might be tempted to argue that the FE is underlining the divinity of Jesus in these instances, and there is certainly some truth to this; however, one must also entertain the idea that Jesus’ verbally effected healings are saying as much about Jesus’ ‘flesh’ and ‘fleshly glory’ as they are saying anything about Jesus’ divinity. It is anyways intriguing that Jesus’ signs can be retrospectively read as emblems of the great reality announced in Jesus’ ‘High Priestly prayer’ that the Father has empowered him or given him authority over ‘all flesh’. In this regard, the ‘glory’ that Jesus reveals in his signs

demonstrate that the term 'flesh' in the FG carries connotations that are both positive and negative, both life-giving and devoid of life, both to be affirmed and avoided.

One could of course conclude that this contrapuntal data simply proves that the FE is confused or that battling traditions have been unwittingly mixed into the final form of the FG (one rather dualistic/gnostic and the other more holistic). One might also attempt to underplay or deny outright that the FG presents a negative view of the flesh of humanity at all, a strategy attempted, for example, by Gail O'Day that does not hold up well.¹⁷² A better way forward, perhaps, given that the fault-line emerges fairly clearly with Jesus' flesh on the one side and the rest of humanity's flesh on the other, is, as I have been proposing, to see that the FE is intentionally drawing attention to two very different kinds of 'flesh' that cause or may cause people to be identified with two very different representational legacies. This would well explain, of course, why the FE can at one moment declare that 'flesh can only give birth to flesh' but not to Spirit, but then at another moment that those who ingest Jesus' 'flesh' will receive eternal life in the Spirit. To wit: as with Paul, different kinds of flesh carry different kinds of glory. The fallen 'glory' of Adam's flesh on its own brings death, not a Spirit-filled existence. The exalted glory of Jesus' flesh, however, brings life, a renewed Spirit-filled existence. Hence, at the end of the FG and in distinction, for example, to what is witnessed in Acts 2, it is Jesus who communicates the Spirit to his disciples: the Spirit comes out of *his* flesh, first from the cross (when he παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα, 'gives up *the* Spirit', 19:30) and then via personal spiration into his disciples (20:22).

One final observation is in order prior to turning to v. 14. The *Animal Apocalypse* of 1 *Enoch* (chs. 85–93) rehearses the story of Israel from Adam to humanity's restoration in a reprinted temple/garden of Eden. Humanity is saved in this fashion, as I summarized in Chapter 4, by a synthetically

does not only refer to Jesus' divine status; it may also be referring to his glorious representative flesh. 'So this is what it looks like to be identified with Jesus' flesh', the listeners may have been coaxed to conclude in witnessing the reversal of ills.

172 "Flesh" is never identified with or used as a metaphor for the realm of human sin or even human brokenness in John', O'Day asserts (O'Day 1998, 159–60). She then undercuts this statement by granting that 'sarx is the coinage of human life and mortality' that is 'redeemed' 'when the Word becomes flesh' (O'Day 1998, 160). If the flesh of humanity is not entrapped in some sort of sin or brokenness, then how does it follow that flesh needs or can experience *redemption*? The FE's view may not be Paul's view, granted, but it still carries negative connotations. If nothing else, the flesh of humanity is negative in the FG because it no longer has direct access to the tree of life that, purportedly, would have transformed it from its native mortal state.

constituted Adam/Jacob/Israel figure who is also perhaps both a heavenly and earthly figure.¹⁷³ What I did not mention above, however, is how this whole summary of Israel's story is framed with specific reference to humanity's need for a new identification with a new Adamic 'flesh'. 'After a frightening vision of world-wide cataclysm (chap. 83), and immediately before retelling his vision of history beginning and ending with Adam/Jacob figures, 'Enoch offers up a prayer for salvation (chap 84) ending in this manner:

84:6. So now, my Lord, wipe out from the earth the *flesh* which has provoked your wrath, but establish the *flesh* of righteousness and truth as a plant of eternal seed.¹⁷⁴

The *Animal Apocalypse* constitutes the answer to this prayer. As Olson concludes, the allegorical retelling of Israel's history in chapters 85–93 'is positioned to be read as *the answer to Enoch's prayer* in the first vision, and the climax of that prayer is a petition before God to establish a holy community ("the flesh of righteousness and truth" as a "plant of eternal seed").¹⁷⁵

This is a most significant framing in light of all that we have thus far seen in the first half of the FG's prologue. For as I have been arguing: according to the FE, humanity was created 'in the beginning' to radiate in God's cosmic temple with the luminous glory of God, likely to be understood as a reflection of the anthropomorphic, glory-filled, archetypal 'light-man of men' in the Logos (John 1:1–4, 9). However, Adam's repudiation of the Logos/Light/Wisdom of God—of the very Logos in whose image he had been created, whose 'breathe of life' he had received—led to his own, as well as the world's, loss of light and glory, a reality well captured by the ominous and all-embracing image of darkness (v. 5). This failure of Adam along with its consequences became endemic to the human race. That is, as the FE serializes, as Adam failed to take firm hold of the Logos/Wisdom of God as a representative of humanity (v. 5), repudiating the light-man who was to be the model and ongoing means of illumination for all people (v. 4, 9) so did the majority of the world (v. 10) and Israel (v. 11) continue to reject this luminous being who was to be their very own re-creative and revelatory source of light and glory. In *1 Enoch's* language, the world thus lacked a 'flesh of righteousness and truth'. Furthermore, as we have just seen, even though the FE acknowledges (perhaps as a concession to Jewish interlocutors) that some in the history of the world after Adam actually

173 See p. 157 above.

174 Olson 2013, 34.

175 Olson 2013, 34.

were enabled to become children of God because of an Abrahamic-like trust in the Logos and Name of God (v. 12), the FE also then clarifies that even these children, reborn in the likeness of God, were nevertheless crippled in their vocation as God's children due to their ongoing participation in a sterile and corruptible 'flesh' (v. 13). They could neither produce image-bearers for God (as Adam would apparently have been able to do) in order to populate the world with the anthropically mediated glory of God, nor could they indefinitely prolong their stay in the earthly sphere as eternally shining lights (i.e. as and unto the glory of God). What is necessary, therefore, if history wrapped up with Adam is to reach its end and the corresponding promises to Abraham are to be fulfilled, is, once again, a new kind of 'flesh'.

It is precisely the answer to this problem that is presented in the second half of the FE's prologue, beginning with the staggering—yet entirely fitting—declaration that *ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο*.

5.4 Assessing John 1:14–18: Are the Lineaments of This Story being Retold Here Too?

In terms of its basic structure or flow of thought, vv. 14–18 breaks down into three distinct but coherence-building syntagms:

14 Καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο
καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν,
καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ,
δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός,
πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας.

15 Ἰωάννης μαρτυρεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ κέκραγεν λέγων· οὗτος ἦν ὃν εἶπον·
ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν,
ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν.
16 ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐλάβομεν καὶ χάριν
ἀντὶ χάριτος·
17 ὅτι ὁ νόμος διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐδόθη, ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια διὰ Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ ἐγένετο.

18 Θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακεν πώποτε· μονογενὴς θεὸς ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ
πατρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο.

Verse 14, which unfolds as a series of three coordinating conjunctions (*καὶ*), represents the fundamental witness of the FE and the Johannine community

to the Incarnate Logos. Verses 15–17, which unfold after John’s initial declaration as a series of subordinating conjunctions (ὅτι), represent the witness and stepped explanation of the Baptist to the superiority (ἔμπροσθεν) of the Incarnate Logos. Verse 18 then rounds off this chain of thought by epitomizing the significance of all that has been said. In all of this, Jesus as the Incarnate Logos is shown by the FE to be the answer (again, cycle III of the schema limned above) to the problem of Adam and Israel’s failures of vocation (cycles I and II).

5.4.1 Verse 14

5.4.1.1 Verse 14a

It is certainly significant that Logos language, last used in v. 1, now returns in v. 14 with reference to a personal being. As argued above, and supported by the descriptions of the Logos reviewed and argued for in the first half of the prologue, this personalization fortifies the sense that the Logos operated for the FE and potential audiences as a traditional character. This character may have been thought of in aggregate as Adam and Israel’s heavenly counterpart. He was the first epiphany of God’s anthropomorphic glory, responsible for the creation of human beings in his own image. The Logos was also the intermediary who communicated God’s will to humanity throughout history in the forms of Wisdom and Law.

Provided that something resembling this Logos background was in the FE’s mind in composing his prologue, and provided that something of the inherent narrative argued for in Chapter 4, the stunning announcement that ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο would not merely be the announcement of this figure’s movement from one sphere of existence to another, from heaven to earth. Neither would it merely be the announcement of this figure’s transformation from one stage of being to another, from the divine to the creaturely. Instead, if the FE and potential audiences had in mind this two-sphere and mirroring relationship between these two ‘Adamic-Israel’ figures, then the FE’s announcement that ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο would also constitute the Johannine community’s declaration that Adam and Israel’s heavenly ‘part’ has become his earthly counterpart. Or put more fully, the declaration that ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο would have had the potential to convey that the very one in whose image Adam was made, a being quite possibly understood as the ‘heavenly’ Adam and Image of God himself, had become his own earthly reflection.¹⁷⁶

176 Cf. Origin: ‘For Christ is found in every saint, and so from the one Christ there come to be many Christs, imitators of Him and formed after Him who is the image of God’ (*Commentary on the Gospel of John*, Bk VI).

The immediate implication of this announcement, of course, especially in light of the first thirteen verses, would be that what Adam/the world and Israel failed to do or suffered as God's elect humanity in the earthly sphere would now be completed/undone by this archetypal person himself. In other words, God would be revealed in the earthly sphere by the one who is God's heavenly 'light', 'glory' and image par excellence. Consequently, as people would come to be identified by faith with this 'flesh', the glory of God through humanity will at long last fill the earth as the waters cover the sea. History will indeed reach its *telos*.¹⁷⁷

It may be objected that if the FE's purpose was to indicate that Adam and Israel's archetype had become a new Adam and Israel on earth, he could have done so more simply and clearly by opting for *ἄνθρωπος* or *Ἀδάμ* or *Ἰσραήλ* instead of *σὰρξ*.¹⁷⁸ However, as I have already begun to develop with reference to the term *σὰρξ*, this objection overlooks the fact that the FE's choice of *σὰρξ* instead of other terms enables the FE to do what he loves, especially in this prologue: to say as much as possible about Jesus, and to foreshadow as much as possible of what he will say about Jesus, in as few words as possible. More specifically, it overlooks the double fact that, on the negative side, the claim that the transcendent Logos became *σὰρξ* would (provided this *was* a problem in the Johannine community) immediately and graphically defend against the (initially understandable) charge of Docetism, since *σὰρξ* unambiguously denotes the most basic sense of a creaturely, mortal existence.¹⁷⁹ On the positive side, the FE's claim that the Logos became *σὰρξ* instead of something else also enables him to connote a complex of interlocking reasons why the coming of the Logos as *σὰρξ* is so important—reasons fundamentally concerning identification and legitimate representation.

As may be seen, the word *σὰρξ* has a rich polyvalence in Israelite/Jewish/early Christian tradition that enables the FE to invite and/or provoke his audience(s) to enter into an atmosphere suffused with immanent meaning

177 As Origen believed Christ did do: '[Jesus] is a great High-Priest, since He restores all things to His Father's kingdom, and arranges that whatever defects exist in each part of creation shall be filled up so as to be full of the glory of the Father' (*Commentary on John*, Bk I. §40).

178 Schnackenburg makes this point. 'For John, Christ in the flesh is not the representative of Adamite man, as in Paul (cf. Rom 8:3), but the leader who brings earth-bound man home to the heavenly world of life and glory (cf. 6:62f.; 14:6; 17:24)' (Schnackenburg, 268).

179 The archetypal image of God did not become *like* flesh, the FE may have wanted to underscore; the Logos *became* flesh. We know that making this negative point was something that the author of 1 and 2 John was anxious to do: 'Many deceivers have gone out into the world, those who do not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh (ἐν σαρκί); any such person is the deceiver and the antichrist!' (2 John 1:7; cf. 1 John 4:2).

or ‘word power’. This word power specifically serves to legitimize and preview Jesus’ representative status on behalf of Israel and the world—in every way possible. Indeed, in addition to denoting the most basic sense of creaturely, mortal existence, σὰρξ connotes the following network of highly suggestive and connectable meanings:

- (a) Adam and/or Israel’s (*re-*)creation in God’s image as key functionaries in God’s cosmic temple; as we saw, for example, in Ezekiel 37 where dead Israel is covered with ‘flesh’ and given the ‘breath/Spirit’ of ‘life’ after the pattern of Gen 1–2.¹⁸⁰
- (b) The notion of *corporate solidarity or identification* with other ‘flesh’, whereby Adam can declare that the woman drawn from him is ‘bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh’, or various parties within Israel can appeal to each other on the basis that ‘you are my bone and my flesh’.¹⁸¹
- (c) The notion of *covenant solidarity*, whereby Israel’s newborn sons are made heirs of the covenant by receiving the mark of circumcision in their ‘flesh’.¹⁸²
- (d) The notion of Israel and humanity’s *imperilled state*, beguiled as they are through association with disobedient Adam by the lusts and weaknesses of the ‘flesh’.¹⁸³
- (e) The reality of Israel’s *sacrificial system*, whereby the blood of animals, contained in their ‘flesh’, represents the life of the animal that is to atone for Israel’s sins.¹⁸⁴

180 See again p. 153 above. The FE, like Ezekiel, is aware that the problem of history is a repudiation of the word/law of God by a representative people after Adam. Thus, like Ezekiel, the FE may have followed his diagnosis of the human condition in vv. 1–13 with a declaration of its remedy: namely, the miraculous reconstitution of a people recreated and revived after the pattern of Adam. “Thus says the Lord GOD to these bones: Behold, I will cause breath (πνεῦμα) to enter you, and you shall live. ⁶ And I will lay sinews upon you, and will cause flesh (σάρκας) to come upon you, and cover you with skin, and put breath (πνεῦμά) in you, and you shall live; and you shall know [γνώσεσθε] that I am the LORD (ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι κύριος)” (Ezek 37:5, 6, 8). The FE’s announcement, therefore, that the image-bearing Logos character—‘ἐγὼ εἰμι’, ‘Resurrection’, ‘Life’, and soon to be designated as the one infused and infusing others with the breath/Spirit (πνεῦμά) of God (1:33; 20:22)—has become σὰρξ could certainly connote the idea of the arrival of God’s new Adam/Israel.

181 Cf. Gen 2:23; 29:14; Jdg. 9:2; 2 Sam 5:1; 19:12–13; 1 Chr. 11:1. Also see Lev 25:49.

182 See Gen 17:11, 14, 24–5; 34:24; Lev 12:3; Jdt 14:10; Eph 2:11; Col 2:13.

183 As in Paul. See again n. 162 above.

184 E.g., Lev 17:11; 14: ‘For the life of all flesh (πάσης σαρκός) is in the blood; and I have given it to you for making atonement for your souls on the altar, for it is its blood that makes

Σάρξ is indeed a rich term within the tradition that, when applied to the heavenly Logos, has the potential to crystallize a multi-faceted notion of Jesus' thoroughgoing identification with humanity. As just demonstrated, for traditional audiences, the 'Logos become flesh' could potentially connote: Adam and Israel *redivivus*; a person in full covenant and corporate solidarity with the world and Israel and therefore fully qualified to function on behalf of all creaturely existence ('all flesh').¹⁸⁵ The Logos becoming flesh could even (at least initially) have been understood as an indication of the Logos' identification with humanity's sin-riddled flesh and intention to deal with it by spilling out the blood of his own flesh.¹⁸⁶

The fact that all of these meanings and their nexus in the idea of identification are not immediately apparent or clarified in the prologue, of course, does not mean that they are not intended. The fact that the FE's audiences may not have ideated all of these meanings and/or their convergence point immediately, in a simultaneous flash of recognition at a first hearing, also does not mean that the FE did not believe that they would not be able to hear them subsequently, perhaps in moments of meditation, or pedagogy, or in the course of additional, more informed and 'experienced' hearings of Gospel performances. In any case, if what is portrayed in the body of the Gospel may be taken as an indication, it is certainly possible that the FE intended some of these meanings.¹⁸⁷ This follows from the fact that the Logos-become-flesh in Jesus *does* variously appear to be portrayed in the body of the FG as a new Adam

atonement for the soul. . . . For the life of all flesh (πάσης σαρκός) is its blood, and I have said to the sons of Israel: You shall not eat the blood of any flesh. For the life of all flesh (πάσης σαρκός) is its blood; anyone who eats it shall be exterminated' (NETS). It is remarkable in light of a text like this that Jesus will invite his audience to 'eat his flesh' and 'drink his blood'. This *may* indicate an atonement type theology in the FG. Although see comment under n. 186 below.

185 As Adam *was* to function and as Moses and the Aaronic priests *did* function at Sinai and the temple respectively on behalf of 'all flesh'. See, e.g., *Jub.* 31:14; *Sir* 44:23, 45:1, 4, 5b–c, 6, 16; *T.Jud.* 24:1.

186 E.g., as in Hengel 2008, 269–70. It is admittedly difficult, however, to reconcile atonement theories in the FG with the more central idea that Jesus' death saves because Jesus' death is a climactic revelation of the truth about God. Jesus' sacrifice is salvific, for the FE, because Jesus' sacrifice is epiphanic. Is Jesus' death in the FG in any way *substitutionary*? This is not clear. See further discussion with reference to Koester's careful thinking on this subject in Chapter 7, n. 16 below.

187 Hoskyns says it must be taken as an indication: 'No theory which explains the identification of Jesus with the Word, but which does not at the same time explain the further identifications which are of such importance to the author of the gospel, can be regarded as in the end satisfactory' (Hoskyns 1947, 159).

(or, at least, ideal human figure),¹⁸⁸ Israel,¹⁸⁹ and sacrifice for sin,¹⁹⁰ whose coming has implications for the whole κόσμος.¹⁹¹

This impulse to underscore the ‘flesh’ of Jesus in order to validate his suitability as a fully legitimate representative of humanity, it may be observed, is not unique to the FG. This theme punctuates the book of Hebrews as well.¹⁹² Thus we are taught in Hebrews that precisely because the heavenly Logos was of an entirely different order of being (1:1–3a) and therefore incapable of representing the ‘son’s of men’ and undertaking their exalted-Psalm-8-viceroy function in the Universe (1:5–8a), the heavenly Son of God became ‘blood and flesh (αἷματος καὶ σαρκός)’ (2:14) to help ‘Abraham’s descendants’ (2:16). Indeed, it was necessary for the heavenly Son of God to become a ‘son of man’, ‘like his brothers and sisters in every respect, so that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest in the service of God, to make a sacrifice of atonement for the sins of the people’ (2:17). Happily, Jesus in the flesh accomplished this task, for as one who ‘in every respect has been tested’ as we are’ he was ‘yet without sin’ (4:15b). To be sure, Jesus lived a life of perfect obedience ‘in the days of his σαρκός’ (5:7) and was thus designated a ‘high priest according to the order of Melchizedek’ (5:10; cf. 5:1–10). Consequently, because of his heavenly origin as it combined with his exemplary, sinless life, Jesus was able to open up a way through the ‘veil’ ‘which is his σαρκός’ (10:20) so that, in addition to offering a better covenant devoid of death by the power of his own indestructible life (7:15–28), all flesh might enter the holy of holies with him and be brought,

188 Jesus Adamic constitution in the body of the FG is clearest, perhaps, in John 20, as many scholars have seen. See p. 344 below.

189 See John 1:19–51 and discussion in section 7.2.1 below.

190 Cf. John 1:29, 36; 6:52–57; 11:50; 12:1; 18:28; 19:14, 36.

191 Κόσμος is used seventy-eight times in the FG, the first of which occurs at 1:9 in the prologue, the last of which occurs in the last verse of the epilogue at 21:25, framing the whole gospel with a view toward the cosmic significance of Jesus’ coming. The significance of Jesus coming in the flesh on behalf of ‘all flesh’ is especially apparent in the overtones that are developed in John 17. For in the context of his so-called ‘High Priestly’ prayer, and just prior to enacting his role as the ‘lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world’, Jesus asks the Father to ‘glorify’ him ‘who has been given authority over *all flesh*’. In light of texts like *Jub.* 31:14; *Sir* 44:23; 45:1–16, which explicitly state that to be a priest in Israel is to serve on behalf of ‘all flesh’, this statement in John 17:2 is most suggestive.

192 Not to mention the early church fathers, who apparently understood both the FE and the author of Hebrews as making this very point. See, for example, the various judgments of Irenaeus in *Against Heresies*: ‘If He was not made what we were, He did no great thing in what He suffered and endured. But every one will allow that we are [composed of] a body taken from the earth, and a soul receiving spirit from God. This, therefore, the Word of God was made, recapitulating in Himself His own handiwork’ (Bk III, Ch. XXII).

proleptically, 'to Mount Zion and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem . . . the city that is to come' (12:22; 13:14b).¹⁹³

My purpose in drawing attention to the book of Hebrews at this point is not only to show how *σαρκός* appears to function explicitly in Hebrews in the way I am suggesting it is functioning implicitly in the FG's prologue.¹⁹⁴ I also want to draw attention to the fact that the declaration that Jesus was truly *σὰρξ*, in Hebrews, and lived a life of unflinching obedience in the *σὰρξ*, entails both: (a) the (potential) atonement of all flesh; as well as (b) the consummation of history according to the pattern I traced at great lengths in Chapter 4. As we have just seen, Jesus' singular accomplishment 'in the flesh' for the author of Hebrews becomes the 'principal operative mechanism' in a macrocosmic temple context by which a redeemed humanity is led to a heavenly mountain and glorified city that, while present in some sense, is ultimately yet to come. The significance of this, of course, is that the Word become flesh in the FG leads to the same eschatological outcome, as Jesus' farewell address and the new creation motif in John 20 make clear enough.¹⁹⁵ This does not only suggest, of course, that both authors are operating with a similar theological anthropology, which posits that the appearance of a faithful Adamic/Israel figure in the world entails the consummation of purposive history. It also suggests that for both authors, as well as their potential audiences, even the slightest insinuation of 'a perfect being becoming 'flesh' may have been an explosive form of *pars pro toto* speech, sufficient to evoke the lineaments of this foundational storyline, begun in Adam, continued in Israel, awaiting completion. We saw the same dynamic in *1 Enoch's Animal Apocalypse*.

Certainly, then, the FE's claim in v. 14 that the one who is the 'light' and 'life' of men—the fully-formed Logos character whom we are also probably to understand was very 'image' and 'glory' of God in whose image humans were originally created—certainly the claim that this one became 'flesh' could excite these sorts of protological memories and eschatological hopes.¹⁹⁶

193 For a similar emphasis on the 'flesh' of the 'Logos' in Hebrews, see R. Williamson 1983. Also see Bruce 1964, 151–5; Koester 2001, 360–1.

194 A point also recognized by Williamson: 'The author of Hebrews, while admittedly not achieving the majestic christological statement of John 1:14, does achieve not only a 'clear statement of the humanity of Jesus', but also a comprehensive and thoroughgoing interpretation of the significance of the life of Jesus as the incarnate life, of flesh and blood, of the eternal Logos' (R. Williamson 1983, 5, quoting David F. Mealand, 'The Christology of the Epistle to the Hebrews' [*The Modern Churchman*, (1980)], 180).

195 See p. 251 below.

196 It may be speculated along these lines that Jesus' resurrection is the firstfruit of the new creation because the resurrection affirms in unassailable terms that a second first person

The reality is that this declaration *did* excite these sorts of ideas in the earliest interpreters of the FG. As is well represented in Irenaeus who links the Word becoming flesh not only with humanity's renewal in the image of God but with the defeat of death that has reigned since Adam even over those who did not sin:

The Word . . . when He became incarnate, and was made man . . . commenced afresh the long line of human beings . . . so that what we had lost in Adam—namely, to be according to the image and likeness of God—that we might recover in Christ Jesus. . . . Those, therefore, who assert that He appeared putatively, and was neither born in the flesh nor truly made man, are as yet under the old condemnation . . . for, by their showing, death has not been vanquished, which “reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam’s transgression.” . . . God recapitulated in Himself the ancient formation of man, that He might kill sin, deprive death of its power, and vivify man.¹⁹⁷

5.4.1.2 Verse 14b

The impression that the FE is indeed thinking along these sorts of protological and eschatological lines is immediately reinforced by his insinuation that the coming of the heavenly Logos ‘in the flesh’ is at one and the same time the coming of a bona fide cultic centre, a perambulating and, hence, anthropic ‘tabernacling’ centre: καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν [dwelt/tabernacled] ἐν ἡμῖν.¹⁹⁸ Indeed, the fact that the FE will insist throughout his Gospel that this person, along with those associated with him, trumps previously designated sacred places, underscores an Adamic underpinning here in the prologue.

As shown in Chapter 4, there appears to have been the understanding—or, at least, the potential for understanding—in the deepest substratum of the Israelite/Jewish tradition that, in the original intentions of the Creator, there were only to be two ultimate temples within which the glory/Spirit/breath of

has arrived on earth. The resurrection of Jesus does not make him something he was not, even though it translates him. Instead, the resurrection affirms what Jesus was all along: he was a truly human person, a new Adam, a new Israel. And thus, unlike the old one who fell into sin and thus rightly died, this one did not sin, and thus, though he died as another act of identification (as a better sacrifice), death cannot hold him. It has no claim over him. He represents, from above and below, the reality and ‘power of an indestructible life’ (cf. Heb 7:16).

197 *Against Heresies*, Ch XVIII 1. §3632, 3633, 3661, 3664.

198 For the close associations of the verb σκηνώω with the tabernacle and temple in the Johannine corpus, see Rev 7:15; 13:6; 21:3.

God would indwell: the temple of the cosmos, comprised of heaven and earth, and the temple of Adam/man, as an elect representative and revelation of heaven on earth. This deeper substratum is not only discernible in the foundational creation narratives within Genesis, where Adam who is singularly filled with the breath/spirit/glory of God is created 'to function, *incarnationally* as God's image/idol' within the cosmic temple;¹⁹⁹ this perspective also tended to be passionately re-embraced, or perhaps 'invented', in the wake of Israel's fallen and/or corrupt temples/priestly establishments and loss of glory.²⁰⁰ We saw this with:

- a. Joseph in the Genesis narrative, in whom was the 'Spirit', 'wisdom', and 'glory', and who, therefore, as the embodied presence of God, transformed Pharaoh's 'house' into a bona fide navel of the earth.
- b. Aseneth, in *Joseph and Aseneth*, who is reborn into the true Edenic image of God, and who, therefore, becomes an anthropic 'city of refuge' filled with converts identified as 'pillars'.
- c. The Johannine Apocalypse where the saints are also 'pillars' in God's temple, and where the person of the Lamb and God are themselves the temple.²⁰¹
- d. The Qumran community, whose objection to the illegitimate Hasmonean priesthood, led them to reconstitute in the desert as a *miqdash adam*, reflecting 'all the glory of Adam', and thereby awaiting the consummation of the macrocosmic temple.

199 See Fletcher-Louis 2004a, 99.

200 Sommer argues that 'by linking the tabernacle, a symbol or predecessor of the Jerusalem temple, with a nomadic tent that belongs to no one place, the priestly document moves in two opposing directions, toward the center and toward the periphery, and thus it opens the door for a critique of its own theology of presence' (Sommer 2009, 109). Himmelfarb sees a similar opening for new definitions: 'The Second Temple is never able to emerge from the shadow of the disengagement of the glory of God. The ark and the cherubim are gone. In the period of the Second Temple, under the influence of Ezekiel, those who are unhappy with the behavior of the people and especially its priests come to see the temple not as God's proper dwelling, the place where heaven and earth meet, but rather as a mere copy of the true temple located in heaven. It is this desacralization of the earthly temple in favor of the heavenly that opens the way for Enoch's ascent in the Book of the Watchers. The first ascent in Jewish literature is thus a journey to the true Temple' (Himmelfarb 1993, 13). Greene also talks about the 'the spiritualization of the temple'. See J. R. Greene 2012, esp. 731–3.

201 Rev 3:12: 'He who conquers, I will make him a pillar (στυλος) in the temple (ναός) of my God'.

Much of the NT itself accords with this understanding. Both messianic communities and individual Christians are referred to as temples of the Spirit.²⁰² The role of the Jerusalem temple is also increasingly diminished. Stephen's retelling of Israel's story in Acts 7, for example, which argues for the priority of temples made by 'God's hands' (i.e., God's 'idol' in man' and the 'cosmos') over and against those made by 'human hands' (i.e., Plan 'B' tabernacle and Jerusalem temple) is illuminating in this regard.²⁰³ Paul's speech in Acts 17 is likewise illuminating; it makes the same essential point as Acts 7: the God who 'made all heaven and earth' (with his own hands), 'does not live in temples *built by [human] hands*' (v. 24), nor is he 'served by [idols made by] human hands' (v. 25a)—such as 'gold, or silver, or stone, an image (χαράγματι) formed by the art and imagination of man' (vv. 29). Instead, God is served by his own idol, made in his own likeness, fashioned by his own hands. This idol is ἄνθρωπος, as we are told in vv. 25 and 26, whom God has given ζῶην and πνοήν and who, therefore, is the only true and ultimate revelation and embodiment of God's presence and being on earth. It is for this reason that Jesus has become the

202 1 Cor 6:19; 2 Cor 6:16; Eph 2:21–2; 1 Pe 2:5.

203 Acts 7 is considered by some scholars to be the most important speech in Acts, providing the interpretive key for the rest of the work (see, e.g., discussion in Wall 2002, 123). In the course of his highly abbreviated and ideological retelling of the story of Israel in this passage, offered in response to the charge of the Jerusalem leaders that 'he never stops speaking against this place [the temple] (cf. Wall 2002, 122), and against the law' (6:13), Stephen emphasizes various appearances of the 'God of glory' to legendary figures (7:2, 9, 30, 35, 38). His motive in recounting these theophanies serves to emphasize the reality of God's presence to God's people in the past that occurred *in the absence* of a tabernacle or temple, presumably in order to relativize the importance of these structures. To be sure, as Stephen will say later, and as both Solomon and Isaiah knew, 'the Most High does not live in houses *made by men*' (v. 48, and see vv. 49–50). Instead, God's desire was always to live in a house made with his own hands, which is to say, in *his* 'idol', humanity (i.e. contrary to the ironic practices of Israel, God's idol, who set out at Sinai to *making* idols instead of *being* idols, as Stephen appears to draw out in vv. 34–41). Stephen, whom Luke describes before his speech as having a 'face like the face of an angel' (6:15), and at the end of the speech as being 'full (πλήρης) of the Holy Spirit (πνεύματος ἁγίου)' appears to be a living manifestation of a primal Adamic reality. Thus, Stephen's interlocutors who say they love the temple and Law condemn themselves in the most ironic of ways: they murder the very vivification of what they say they love, the Law and Temple, just as they did with Jesus, the clear embodiment of both (vv. 51–3). This exact irony is evident in the FG. In John 7:49, the authorities vilify the crowd turning to Jesus, the embodiment of the Law, saying, 'But this crowd, which does not know the law—they are accursed'. Likewise, those who claim to love God's temple (11:48) will crucify it (2:21).

judge of all humanity: he is the prime anthropological standard against which all humanity is judged.²⁰⁴

Philo is, once again, instructive in this regard, especially because he is explicit about the point I am trying to make. For although Philo recognizes and seems to respect the physical temple in Jerusalem and the Solomonic temple of old, these do not for Philo represent God's original nor ultimate temples. They represent God's Plan B: For

there are two temples of God, I believe: the one is this universe (ὁ κόσμος) in which indeed the high priest is the first-born (ὁ πρωτόγονος), the divine Logos (θεῖος λόγος); and the other is the rational soul (λογικὴ ψυχὴ), whose priest is the Man-in-Reality (ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄνθρωπος) (*Somn.* 1.215).

Nijay Gupta points out that this idea for Philo is established in creation itself. For when the 'original man (ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος)' was formed, teaches Philo, 'God chose the finest clay on earth to fashion the shell of the 'reasonable soul' that would serve as his sacred canopy (*Opif.* 137).²⁰⁵ Philo's Greek and following reasoning is even more revealing than Gupta's paraphrase here, especially with reference to the FE's prologue and the nature and power of oral traditional references. For God chose the finest clay and *must* have done so, Philo stresses in *Opif.* 1:137–139, because the man he was creating was to be 'formed (κατασκευῆν)' into 'an abode (οἶκος) or sacred temple (νεὼς ἱερὸς)' as well as 'the most God-like looking of images' (137). Consequently, in addition to choosing the finest clay with which to form or 'en-tabernacle' (κατασκευῆν) man, the Creator also then clothed man's frame with the 'beauty of flesh' (εὐσαρκίαν) so that 'as far as was possible, man should appear the most beautiful of beings (κάλλιστον ὀφθῆναι τὸν πρῶτον ἄνθρωπον)' (138). It was necessary for man to appear this way, Philo then concludes, because man is created in the image of the pure and perfect embellishment of beauty itself: 'the Word of God (θεοῦ δὲ λόγος)' (139). Philo's Greek is interesting here not only because of the obvious verbal and/or conceptual overlap with the Greek of John 1:14,²⁰⁶ but also

204 Cf. Fletcher-Louis 2004a, 99.

205 Gupta 2011, 284.

206 Cf. Philo and FE's λόγος/λόγος; εὐσαρκίαν/σὰρξ; ὀφθῆναι/ἐθεασάμεθα; κατασκευῆν/ἐσκήνωσεν (these last two words which are both members of the σκ-ευ/ην* root family of words. Words with this root are almost exclusively used with reference to building/furnishing (usually of tabernacles/temples), the furniture/holy objects within these sacred spheres (including idols/humans, as with Philo's use), and/or the concept of dwelling or a

because of how this web of similarity betrays a shared tradition and, perhaps, the rhetorical persistence of oral forms when it comes to talking about (the earthly) Adam. As may be seen, just as Philo's reflections on the first man's creation leads him to thoughts about man's tabernacle-like construction/formation (κατασκευήν)²⁰⁷ in God's image as a 'house' (οἶκος) or 'temple' (ναός) of 'beautiful flesh' (εὐσαρκίαν) that is reflective of its archetypal model in the Word of God (θεοῦ δὲ λόγος), so the FE's announcement of the 'Logos' entering the earthly scene is immediately strung together with the ideas of 'flesh' (σὰρξ) and 'tabernacling' (σκηνώω).²⁰⁸ Given that the FE will also later explicitly refer to the οἶκος-zealous Jesus as a temple (ναός) (John 2:16, 21), we may be justified for once again suspecting that the FE is playing with a traditional 'tension of essences' related to the creation and purpose of Adam or Adamic humanity in the cosmic temple.²⁰⁹

5.4.1.3 Verse 14c

The FE's third and final conjunctive clause in v. 14 continues to advance this sense of an Adamic background, despite the fact that most commentators screen the community's witness of 'glory' in Jesus only through the lens of his divinity while intimating that flesh, any flesh, is a distinctively unsuitable vessel for glory. This is, we propose, an error in light of Israel's theological

dwelling place (and, again, usually of holy spaces). Compare, for example, all the entries spanning 4896–4900 (κατασκευάζω—κατασκήνωσις) with 8064–8072 (σκευάζω—σκήνωσις) in LEH, where the meanings listed bear this out.

207 Both the OT and NT use the term in this fashion. See, for example, Exod 27:19; 35:24; 36:7; Num 8:4; 21:27; 1 Chr 29:19; 2 Chr 26:15; 1 Es 9:42; Jdt 15:11; 3 Macc 5:45; 4 Macc 4:20; Wis 7:27; 9:2; 13:4; Sir 32:6; Bar 3:32; Ep. Jer. 1:8, 46; Heb 3:3–4.

208 Cf. also Justin, *Dial. Try.*, Ch XL, 2054: "The mystery, then, of the lamb which God enjoined to be sacrificed as the passover, was a type of Christ; with whose blood, in proportion to their faith in Him, they anoint their houses, i.e., themselves, who believe on Him. For that the creation which God created—to wit, Adam—was a house for the spirit which proceeded from God, you all can understand'. Thus, Justin continues, the injunction to sacrifice in the temple built by men 'was temporary'.

209 This 'tabernacling' language is frequently taken to allude to God's tabernacling with Israel in the desert, and the emphasis is placed on the mobile nature of God's presence then and now again in Jesus. But stopping with this seems to miss the bigger point of what the FE is implying here. The point is not merely that God and God's glory has become present and, as it were, 'moved into the neighborhood' (Peterson 1993, 185). The point is that God has done this this time specifically not in a 'man-made' tabernacle but in a vessel of *flesh*, made by the hands of God.

anthropology as it merges with temple theology.²¹⁰ As shown above, there is a considerable body of tradition that believed that pre-lapsarian Adam was, above all, a figure of light and δόξα. The same was true of those who—like Joseph, Solomon, and the High Priest as individuals, or like the Qumran community as a whole—were stylized as new Adams in the world. They were people who, as virtual temples or temple-builders in the world, had ‘all the glory of Adam’, as long as they adhered to the word/light/law/wisdom of God. Accordingly, therefore, in seeing the divine Logos—the very embodiment of the Word/Light/Law/Wisdom of God—‘tabernacling’ now *not* in a tabernacle or temple made by human hands but specifically now ‘in the flesh’, the Johannine community witnesses to seeing the foundational reality ascribed not only to the heavenly Logos but to the earthly Adam: *glory*. It is certainly worthwhile to point out in this regard, as Kittel observes, that in contrast to the other Gospels, whereby ‘the application of the word [glory] to the incarnate Jesus is strictly limited . . . the picture is rather different in John’, where glory is persistently attributed to the incarnate Jesus.²¹¹ One of the reasons the FE stresses the glory of the incarnate Jesus so much, I would offer, is because the FE is straining to highlight that the glory witnessed in Jesus is the glory of a

210 Take Paul N. Anderson, for example, who in the course of exploring ‘the christological tensions in the Gospel of John’, and especially that between ‘the *humanity and divinity of Jesus*’, pits Jesus’ flesh against his ‘glory’, locating the former on the side of Jesus’ humanity and the latter on the side of Jesus’ divinity: ‘In John the humanity of Jesus is portrayed explicitly, but Jesus’ divinity is also portrayed extensively. On one hand, the fleshly incarnation of Jesus is emphasized (1:14a; 6:51–58); however, so is his “glory” (1:14c; 11:4; 14:13; 17:1)’ (P. N. Anderson 2008, 314). From this perspective, the paradox created by v. 14 is not taken to be between the negative flesh of humanity (in Adam) and positive flesh of Jesus (come as a new and better Adam). The paradox taken is that the Logos, who is so perfect and glorious, would assume a fleshly existence, implicitly taken as an act of condescension. The paradox taken, then, is that glory can be seen in flesh *at all*: ‘What 1:14 discloses is the revelation of divine glory radiating from the flesh. C. K. Barrett describes this as “the paradox which runs through the whole gospel: the *doxa* is not to be seen *alongside* the *sarx*, nor *through* the *sarx* as through a window; it is to be seen in the *sarx* and nowhere else”’ (Lee 2002, 35). This sort of view may betray more of the vestigial tenacity of dualistic notions than what is really going on in the FG. The Logos becoming flesh may be shocking because of his preexistent Glory, but that does not mean his flesh is not the accumulation and manifestation of another *sort of exceedingly positive* Glory, the kind, as I am arguing, assigned uniquely to humans as God’s image-bearers in the terrestrial realm. To be sure, the gospel must not only be looked at as a revelation of true *divinity*, I contend, but as a revelation of true *humanity*. Glory is native to the true forms of both, for humanity, in its true form, is a transubstantiation of the former. See again p. 125 above.

211 TDNT, II, 248–49.

true Adamic human. The FE's subsequent descriptors in v. 14c, including the echoes to Exodus 33–34 in these descriptions, can be seen to reinforce this protological meaning.

The FE immediately offers a twofold clarification of just what kind of glory is being talked about. The glory of the tabernacling Jesus' is a glory that is, distinctively:

ὥς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός.

and

πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας

In most generic terms, the first phrase clarifies the nature of the Incarnate Logos' glory by analogy to, or in comparison with, the filial father/son relationship. The glory of Jesus, says the FE, is 'as like' or 'as of' (ὥς) the glory of a 'unique' or 'only begotten (Son)' (μονογενοῦς) 'from' or 'who has come from' or who 'represents' (παρὰ) 'a father' (πατρός).²¹² This filial analogy, of course, by which glory is likened to the relationship between a father and son is not only generically applicable to the universal experience of families, whereby sons (or daughters) exhibit their father's glory precisely because they share the substance and likeness of their fathers;²¹³ a filial framework was also commonplace throughout the ANE and in the Greco-Roman world. As Dodd has shown, this filial framework was central in the ANE and Greco-Roman worlds in describing the representational roles of subordinate 'sons' to their heavenly 'fathers', with whom they were usually in some way believed to have shared divinity.²¹⁴ This filial analogy was equally central to Israel's and Israel's King's self-understanding as the elect representatives of God in the world.²¹⁵

212 Rendering παρὰ as 'representing' is rare in most translations, but may have had this idiomatic force. See the translation of MacDonald in MIT. Contrary to the practice of most translations, there is, as indicated in Lincoln's commentary (Lincoln 2005, 92), no definite article before πατρός in the Greek, suggesting that one should not be provided in translation.

213 E.g., Sir 3:11a ('The glory of one's father is one's own glory'); *Conf.* 1:63; Reinhartz 1999 ('in Aristotle's view . . . in ideal circumstances—as in the case of God and his son—the male principle will father a son who is identical to himself in all respects', 95).

214 Thus 'in Egypt, . . . the reigning king was divine, and was described as the son of the god worshipped as the special patron of the royal house . . . in some sense an "epiphany" of the god himself'. In Greek mythology, 'Hermes and Apollo were sons of Zeus, offspring considered 'manifestations or emanations of the one God on earth'. Likewise, in the Hellenistic period, 'Antiochus IV was θεὸς ἐπιφανής. θεὸς ἐκ θεῶν was a title of the Ptolemies. . . . Augustus was *divi filius*, υἱὸς θεοῦ' (Dodd 1953, 250).

215 See, e.g., Exod 4:22; Jer 31:9; Hos 1:1; Wis 18:13–16; Psalm 2:6–8; Ps 89:26–7.

Significantly, memories of Adam may at once be in view in some instances of sonship language, because Israel's self-understanding as God's son, as noted above, is frequently rooted in prior understandings of Adam as the one created and indeed begotten in the 'image and likeness' of God, characterized in Genesis 5 on the analogy of a father-son relationship.²¹⁶ The genealogy of Jesus in Luke 3 appears to draw on this Adamic connection when it links Joseph's (apparent) begetting of Jesus to the Creator's begetting of Adam: Jesus 'was the son, so it was thought, of Joseph, the son of Heli, the son of . . . Adam, *the son of God*' (Luke 3:23b–38).²¹⁷ The FE's immediate description of Jesus' glory in filial language may, therefore, be intended to evoke similar Adamic memories. This may be part of the point of the *μονογενής* language: Jesus is not simply the latest in a line of sons of God, he is *the* *μονογενής*, the truly unique (i.e. new Adamic) son.

In addition to being 'as like' a son representing his father in the 'flesh', Jesus' glory, the FE continues to clarify, is also *πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας*. Notably, the glory of the 'tabernacled' Word is not atmospheric like the cloud (*νεφέλη*) that 'filled' (*ἐπλήσθη*) Moses' tabernacle or 'filled' (*ἐπλήσθη*) Solomon's house, or like the 'smoke' (*καπνοῦ*) that 'filled' (*ἐπλήσθη*) the temple in Isaiah's vision.²¹⁸ Rather, the glory of the 'tabernacled' Logos is (among other things) ethical: it is 'full' (*πλήρης*) of 'grace' (*χάριτος*) and truth (*ἀληθείας*). As the majority of Johannine scholars agree, this coupling of 'grace and truth' in the FE's description 'recalls the Hebrew pair *אֱמֶת וְחֶסֶד*, a pairing that 'signif[ies] God's loyalty and faithfulness to his covenant and covenant people'.²¹⁹ Johannine scholars also tend to agree that, especially in light of the implicit and explicit commentary on Moses to follow in the remainder of the prologue, the FE's use of this pairing is deliberate. It specifically intends to recall, as Lincoln summarizes,

216 See again p. 187 above. Also see Philo's discussion of the fifth commandment and how 'parenthood . . . approximates . . . most closely to the relationship of creator to creation' in his treatise *On the Decalogue* as discussed in Watson 2004, 308.

217 Suggestively, Jesus is positioned as the seventieth from Adam. Even more suggestively, this positioning of Jesus in this genealogy is sandwiched between: (a) Jesus' reception of the Spirit and filial approbation of God, on the front end ('You are my Son, whom I love; with you I am well pleased'), and (b) the Devil's temptation that Jesus *prove* he is the 'Son of God', along with the Devil's offer from a 'high mountain' for Jesus to receive all the kingdoms of the world and 'all their glory', if only Jesus will transgress the 'word of God' and fail to 'worship God', on the back end (4:1–13). Once again, this sounds very much like traditional stories about Adam. Cf. *Against Heresies* Bk III, Ch. XXII 3745–3746.

218 Exod 40:34–5; 1 Kgs 8:10–11; 2 Chron 5:13–14; 7:1–2; Isa 6:1–4; cf. Rev 15:8.

219 Barrett 1955, 139.

the narrative of Exodus 33.12–34.9, where Moses asks to see God's glory and in the end 'The Lord passed before him and proclaimed, "The Lord, the Lord, a God merciful and gracious, slow to anger and abounding in steadfast love and faithfulness (חַסֵּד וְחַנּוּן)"' (Exod 34.6).²²⁰

The meaning we are to take from this confession, Lincoln continues, is that:

the mercy and dependability, uniquely characteristic of God (cf. also Ps. 86.15) and previously associated with the covenant with Israel, have now been displayed in the incarnate Word.²²¹

This is certainly true: Jesus, as God, displays God's covenant faithfulness. However, if Jesus' incarnation and thoroughgoing identification with and as Adam/Israel—as like a son representing the father' in 'the flesh'—is to be taken seriously, then the qualifier must also mean more than this. Specifically, the qualifier must be nuanced to mean that Jesus in the flesh displays God's covenant faithfulness precisely because he has also become Adam/Israel's covenant faithfulness, thereby making a way for God's promises to Abraham to come true. Here in Jesus—the prologue is provocatively intimating—is a human being who both possesses a new Adamic flesh and represents his father perfectly, as an exact epiphany in the earthly realm of his father's heavenly glory. Thus, in Jesus, the ancient epithet finally comes true in a human figure: like father, like son; as the father is full of 'love and faithfulness/grace and truth', so now is this utterly unique son. As Bauckham notices (but does not develop), Jesus' glory in v. 14 'is the visible manifestation of who God is, reflected in the earthly life of Jesus, a son who is (as it were) the spitting image of his father'.²²²

The upshot of this recognition about Jesus' image-bearing status, it may be suspected—especially in light of the FE's punchy rehearsal of Adam, the world's, and Israel's failure or peril in the first half of the prologue—is that here at long last in Jesus is a genuine human being and representative for humanity who will obey the Law and take secure hold of wisdom. Here is one who will not be implicated in sin and perpetuate the dying flesh of Adam. Instead, this one will be able to sanctify 'all flesh' because of the thoroughgoing and sanctifying truth/faithfulness (ἀληθείας) that his flesh represents.²²³

220 Lincoln 2005, 106.

221 Lincoln 2005, 106.

222 Bauckham 2008, 49.

223 E.g., ἁγιάσον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ· ὁ λόγος ὁ σὸς ἀλήθειά ἐστιν (John 17:17).

This meaning becomes even more plausible when it is remembered that the story from Exodus just evoked takes place in the wake of Israel's debauchery that led to Moses' smashing of the tablets of the Law—Israel's blueprint for being and becoming truly human and glorious again.

Surely it is possible that we are being led to infer in the FE's prologue, then, that, as one invested with the same glory as the Father—a glory characterized among other things by unwavering *troth*²²⁴—Jesus will certainly not do what Adam, the world, and Israel did. Instead, the Logos in his humanity, even as already in his divinity, will *παρέλαβον* and *ἔγνω* and *κατέλαβεν* God's Law/Wisdom/Light and 'voice' all the way to the end, even as the body of the FG will underscore repeatedly.²²⁵ Henceforth, as the body of the FG will also bear out, because Jesus is the 'glory' of God in human form, the 'glory' of God *will be* revealed in Jesus, and life and blessing will at last 'spill' out as refreshing waters from the temple Jesus apparently *is*.²²⁶ Thus will the cosmic temple reach its long anticipated telos, an end marked by a dramatic new beginning: a new garden at the dawn of a new creation (20:1–18), which promises to be populated by an undying generation of 'children of God', those who at long last are filled with the spirit/breath/glory of God (cf. 20:22).²²⁷

224 This now somewhat antiquated word probably best captures the FE's use of *ἀληθείας*.

225 See, e.g., John 5:19, 37–8; 8:28, 55; 10:25, 37–8; 14:10.

226 Cf. John 2:20–1; 7:37–8; 19:34. Just as the quadrifarious waters of Eden (or within Israel's temple) were to flow out into the whole world, so does the FE portray life pouring out from Jesus at the cross, first into his 'offspring', the church, and then through them into the four corners of world.

227 See Wright 2003, 3:667. Reinhartz articulates the idea of Jesus' 'fathering' a new humanity very well: 'Fundamental to Jesus' mission . . . is the gathering of disciples or believers (17:6), also described as the "children of God" (τέκνα or παιδία θεού). . . . The prologue promises that believers will become "children of God" (τέκνα θεού) "who were born [or begotten, *ἐγενήθησαν*], not of blood or of the will of the flesh or of the will of man, but of God" (1:12–13), a formulation that implies the notion of *epigénesis*. In 11:52, the high priest inadvertently prophesies that Jesus' death will serve not only the nation but "to gather into one the dispersed children of God [τέκνα θεού]." In 12:36, Jesus urges his listeners, "While you have the light, believe in the light, so that you may become children of light." He calls his disciples, "Children" (παιδία) before inquiring after their catch of fish (21:5), and "Little children" (τεκνία) when he breaks to them the news of his imminent departure (13:33). As in the connection between father and son, obedience and love are central to the relationship between Jesus and his "little children": "They who have my commandments and keep them are those who love me; and those who love me will be loved by my Father, and I will love them and reveal myself to them" (14:21)' (Reinhartz 1999, 95–96). See also Gage 1984, 34–5.

5.4.2 Verses 15–17

I suggested above that there is room for believing that the witness of John the Baptist in vv. 6–9 is a later intercalation, even though it works well with the prologue as it now stands. The same is not true of the Baptist's (or John the Baptist's and FE's) witness in vv. 15–17.²²⁸ There does not appear to be anything disjointed in what is testified in these verses. In point of fact, what the FE puts on the lips of the Baptist here may be seen as an instance of *com-moratio* or *hermeneia*: a calculated rewording and illumination of what has been said and implied about the Incarnate Word in v. 14. This becomes evident when the anaphoric ὅτι clauses of vv. 15–17 are seen roundly to explain the Baptist's initial riddling declaration in v. 15b that the one who comes 'behind/after' him (ὀπίσω) is actually, or has actually become, 'in front/ahead' of him (ἔμπροσθέν).²²⁹ The weight of this riddle, as a survey of the many translations of these binary terms confirms, swings on the hinge of status. Essentially, the Baptist stupefies, the 'inferior one is in fact superior'. The question is: Why? How can this be? John explains:

“Οτι #1—The ostensive inferior is actually superior because he was *prior* to John (πρώτος) both temporally (πρώτος as 'first in time') and ontologically (πρώτος as 'first in rank').²³⁰ It may have appeared on the canvas of recent spatio-temporal history that the Baptist was πρώτος. But the reality, John underlines in confirmation of the first καὶ clause of v. 14, is that the one who

228 Where exactly to place the end quotations on the Baptist's speech here in the second half of the prologue is disputed. Imagining how these words may have *sounded* in a performative environment, however, lends credence to the idea that the Baptist's speech extends right through to the end of v. 18, or, because of v. 18's more epitomizing and concluding tone, at least v. 17. The Baptist's speech begins with a preamble tagged with the ear-catching declaration that he 'cried out, saying'—and, with these apparently cuing words, one can easily imagine a performer dramatically impersonating John's speech right to the end of v. 17, prior to a summary of the prologue and the narrator's obvious resumption in v. 19. A dramatic pause followed by a change in voice, of course, could have immediately made an earlier transition away from the Baptist's speech clear. So, while I would favor the hypothesis that hears the Baptist speaking right up until v. 18, the crux remains. For simplicity, however, I will refer to the contents of vv. 15–17 as John the Baptist's speech.

229 In other words, I am suggesting that the ὅτι clauses are functioning in vv. 15–17 as an interlinked chain of subordinate causal clauses. See EDNT 3811.4. For the fascinating argument that the prologue of the FG in fact grew out of the Baptist's riddling statement here, see Thatcher 2011b.

230 See EDNT, 4515.

became flesh and was later identified as Jesus, is in fact the heavenly, pre-existent Logos. This one was before John in time because he was with God ‘in the beginning’. This one was before John in rank because he was ‘with God’ ‘as God’ himself in the beginning. The flesh of Jesus, then, was indeed a veil, the Baptist seems to be granting. Jesus’ flesh veiled his transcendent glory and origins as one who had come from the heavenly temple as a heavenly being.²³¹

“Οτι #2—The ostensive inferior is actually superior, John continues to explain, because this one is greater than John *functionally*. John’s ministry and purpose, as will be disclosed momentarily (1:19–34), is to exercise what might be called an appropriate finger pointing.²³² In short, Jesus must become greater, John says, because he *is* greater, and so John must become less. This is true, John continues to disclose in this second ὅτι clause, not only because Jesus is the transcendent Logos, before him in time and rank, as is implicit in the first καὶ clause of v. 14. It is also because (ὅτι), as the Baptist now adds in v. 16, ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐλάβομεν καὶ χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος. The language here dovetails with the language of the second and third καὶ clauses of v. 14. The curious καὶ preceding χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος, in fact, may have been used precisely in order to indicate this connection.²³³ The glory of Jesus, we were told in v. 14, is a glory that despite its ‘tabernacling’ nature is ethical instead of atmospheric. It is the glory of an only son who is the spitting image of his father because he is ‘full’—πλήρης—of the same splendidly loving and faithful character of his father: χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας. It is specifically from this fullness of glory, John now adds—indeed, ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτοῦ—that we have all received (ἐλάβομεν) ‘grace *instead of* grace’ (χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος).²³⁴ The critical question this provokes, of course, is: Why does a human being who is

231 ‘I myself did not know him,’ John repeats in 1:31 and 33.

232 John points away from himself in preparation for the one who is greater than him. John is just a voice, Jesus is the Word. John splashes with water, Jesus will suffuse with the Spirit. John stands symbolically on the other side of the Jordan, Jesus will live the meaning of this symbol out. John is neither the Christ, nor Elijah, nor the Prophet—because Jesus is them all. John will be followed for a time, Jesus will be followed for life.

233 As Frieberg suggests, the coordinating conjunction in this instance is designed ‘to explain what preceded’ (14596). Thus, an expanded or idiomatic translation of this verse might be ‘Because from his fullness we have all received, *to explain what we started to say above*, grace instead of grace’.

234 Despite many attempts to avoid an apparent theological awkwardness in this phrase, this phrase almost certainly means exactly what ἀντὶ predominately signifies: grace *instead of* grace. See Moloney 1993, 46–7; Carson 1991, 31–2.

in the image of God (i.e. glorious; full of the character/likeness of his father) enable others to receive 'grace instead of grace'? Why would anyone want to receive one grace instead of another grace if both are grace? John's third and final ὅτι phrase explains.

"Ὅτι #3—The reason Jesus' peculiar fullness of glory enables the reception of 'grace instead of grace', says John, and the reason why Jesus is superior to John in every way possible, is because (ὅτι), v. 17:

ὁ νόμος διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐδόθη,
ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐγένετο.

As discussed above, the Law given to Moses on Sinai was a 'gift' (χάρις),²³⁵ just as God's word to Adam was wisdom. Both were grace. The Law as divine wisdom was given through Moses so that Israel could (at least in theory) be and become truly human and glorious again, like pre-lapsarian Adam. The problem, however, is that the Law in Israel, as the Word to Adam and the world after Adam, did not become what it aimed. In the first instance, the pre-incarnate Logos in his various forms as Word, Wisdom, and Law was rebuffed (v. 5, 10, 11). The consequence, as I reviewed, was that the Law's intent to establish a glory-filled humanity who would consummate the earthly temple with glory was never realized, never fully and finally embodied. Indeed, although there were bright spots like with Joseph and the early Solomon, an undying Adamic humanity was not realized as God's means of life and revelation in the world. In short, the gift of the Law (ἡ χάρις)—light/glory and life itself—was either: (a) not combined with the abiding faithfulness (ἡ ἀλήθεια) of Adam/Israel; or (b) received by those still suffering the effects of ongoing identification with the dying flesh of Adam. Consequently, the sons of God on earth in the past either did not look like the Father or did not last. It was not that the gift ceased to be a gift. It was that, in the absence of a faithful host or identification with a new Adamic flesh, the life-giving light and purpose of the Law was either rendered powerless or frustrated by death. In either case, God's purposes for humanity were foiled, and the expansion of God's glory into the cosmic temple was suspended.

The answer to this vexed situation, the FE now advances in the second clause of v. 17, as an elaboration of what was already implied in v. 14, is the person of Jesus Christ: the enfleshed Son who does represent a new Adamic 'flesh' and who does share God's own Sinai character and glory, and thus, in whom at long

235 On 'χάρις' as 'grace' and 'gift', see comments in Moloney 1993, 47; GIN, 6862.3.

last, the gift of the Law (ἡ χάρις) and its faithful embodiment (ἡ ἀλήθεια) have not merely been given (ἐδόθη) but have, in fact, come into existence (ἐγένετο).²³⁶ Put in Pauline terms, what the FE is saying is that God provided a second grace/gift in place of the first one because 'what the Law (νόμου) was powerless to do because it was weakened by the flesh (σαρκός), God did by sending his own Son (υἶόν) in the likeness of sinful flesh (σαρκός)' (Rom 8:3 NIV). In other words, in want of a truly faithful Adamic representative, God provided one, by becoming one (Rom 5).

Naturally, the reason one would want to receive this latter grace/gift (the Law embodied) instead of the prior grace (the Law, though not fully embodied), and the reason Jesus is superior to John in every way, is because of what Jesus' faithfulness as a truly obedient human who also represents a new flesh entails. According to the story-pattern traced in Chapter 4, Jesus' presence on earth entails the fulfillment of purposive history (cycle III).²³⁷ It is precisely this end and consequence of Jesus' coming that will be worked out and made progressively explicit in the body of his Gospel. Prior to working this out, however the FE will epitomize the gist of all he has thus far said in the first seventeen verses of the prologue in v. 18. He will also segue into the body of the Gospel by provoking a reading of the Gospel as a story of Word in the World Retold, the scriptures of Israel reenacted.

236 Cf. Dodd: 'The evangelist affirms that the Torah did not, in the full sense, bring grace and truth, but Christ does. The Torah therefore is but a shadow of the true Word of God, which came in its full reality in Jesus Christ' (Dodd 1953, 295). Boyarin concurs: "'The law given through Moses" represents precisely the earlier attempt of the Logos to enter the world ... [But] as a result of the failure ... God performed the extraordinary act of incarnating his Logos in flesh and blood ... as an incarnate avatar and teacher of the Word' (Boyarin 2001, 280). Where I would disagree with Boyarin is in his insistence that 'for John, it is only because the Logos Ensarkos is a better teacher, a better exegete than the Logos Asarkos—ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο—that the Incarnation takes place' (Boyarin 2011, 284). In my own interpretation, it is because the Logos ensarkos fulfills and redeems God's purpose for humans that the incarnation takes place. If the Logos Ensarkos were that much of a better teacher, it would stand to reason that Israel's teachers would recognize his teaching is from God, something the majority of them in the FG do not do. For more on the Logos as the embodiment of Torah in the FG, see Suggit 1984, 105–6.

237 Romans 8 exemplifies this inherent meaning when it talks about the achievement of Jesus' faithful life as entailing the reception of the Spirit for power over sin and death (8:1–14), renewed sonship with a renewed (*imago*) glory (συνδοξασθῶμεν/δόξαν) (8:15–17; 17–18; 28–30; cf. 1:18–32), and the promised renewal of all creation *through* the 'revelation' (ἀποκάλυψιν) of the 'sons of God' who participate in the resurrected life of the Son of God (8:19–22). Cf. the exposition of Romans 8 in Wright 2002, 574, 595.

5.4.3 Verse 18

The *Grundkonzeption* of the FG, as Bultmann discerned, is revelation.²³⁸ This is as evident in the prologue, as we have just seen, as it is in the body of the Gospel. In short, as Logos *asarkos* and *ensarkos*, Jesus is the supreme epiphany of God and God's glory in a way that now, because of his identification with God's image on earth as man, encapsulates all major temporal, spatial, and ontic binaries: past and present, heaven and earth, God and Man. It is axiomatic for the FE, therefore, that no one sees or has seen God except in the face of Christ.²³⁹

In this vein, v. 18 is duly considered a bridge or janus verse; it sums up the essence of what has been communicated in the prologue while preparing for what will be communicated in the remainder of the Gospel.²⁴⁰ As we may paraphrase in accordance with what the majority of scholars take this tricky verse to be saying: *Although no one has ever seen God, (a) the only begotten Son, (b) God, (c) who is in the bosom of the father—this one (just described) has made him known* (ἐξηγήσατο).²⁴¹

Several features of this verse are worthy of comment.

In the first place, the use of the aorist ἐξηγήσατο without an object is notoriously difficult to translate. The sense in which it is used within the context of

238 See the excellent discussion(s) in Ashton 2007, Part II.

239 According to the prologue, creation bloomed into existence through the agency of the Logos. Human beings were given light and illumination through the agency of the Logos. The Word and Wisdom of God tried to penetrate the world and his own people through the agency of the Logos. When that failed, in order that God's revelatory purposes in the earthly sphere through man might be completed, the Logos took on flesh, and began to reveal God anew, making the invisible visible on earth in a perambulating holy of holies, filled with glory. In the body of the gospel, Jesus tells the Jewish leaders that what Isaiah *actually* saw in heaven was Jesus' glory. What Abraham *actually* saw when three visitors came for lunch was Jesus. Additionally, although 'so many ascensions and ecstatic journeys are reported in inter-testamental literature', says Alan Segal, including, as Ashton fills in, 'Moses, Elijah, and Enoch, . . . Levi Baruch, Phineas, Ezra, Adam, Zephaniah, and Isaiah' (quoted in Ashton 2007, 300; see 299–300; also cf. 251–59), it is *only* the Son of Man in Jesus, the FE avows, who has actually ascended into the celestial chamber of secrets (3:13). Williams states: 'The Johannine Jesus is presented as the authoritative revealer, the incarnate λόγος who communicates the invisible God to the world (1:18). He comes to reveal the Father and to manifest his word (cf. 7:16; 14:24; 17:8) and works (5:17, 30, 36; 17:4) . . . whoever sees him sees the father (12:45; 14:9) . . . to believe and know Jesus is to believe and know God (8:19; 12:44; 17:3)' (Williams 2000, 303).

240 See discussion of bridge or janus devices on pp. 244–245 and 251 below.

241 This final sentence of the prologue is grammatically, semantically, and text-critically complicated. See the discussion in Moloney 1993, 50–1.

v. 18 and the prologue as a whole certainly allows for the general meaning in which it has typically been translated and understood, as ‘made known’ (RSV, NIV, NET, ESV) ‘explained’ (NAS), ‘divulged’ (MIT), ‘revealed’ (NLT), and the like. Taken in this general sense, v. 18 can be seen as a wonderfully fitting summary of all that I have been thus far arguing from an anthropological perspective. Not only in his transcendent identity (vv. 1–13), but in his identity as a true man in the image of God (vv. 14–17), Jesus has done what the image of God was always designed to do: he *has* revealed ‘God’ in the macrocosmic temple.²⁴²

Secondly, although ἐξηγήσατο in v. 18 can generally mean ‘reveal’ it should be observed that every other occurrence of ἐξηγήσομαι within the NT, and the broad attestation of this term elsewhere, convey a more specific range of meaning and usage. Three quite specific meanings and their uses are apparent. The term can mean (i) ‘to declare’, and was used this way specifically, as Hoskyns writes, as the ‘technical term for the Rabbinic interpretation of the law’.²⁴³ The term can also mean (ii) ‘to reveal mysteries’, and was used this way in Greek religions.²⁴⁴ And, this term can also mean (iii) ‘to recount a narrative, rehearse a story’, and is used this way in *every* other occurrence in the NT and throughout the Greek OT (transl. ספר).²⁴⁵

While the preponderance of usage in circles to which the FE was likely a most prominent part suggest that this last meaning would have carried the most weight, it is plausible that the others were also in view. In fact, within a prologue that does indeed seem to function as an overture and structural departure point for the rest of the Gospel, spearheading and introducing the main themes that will be developed in the narrative,²⁴⁶ the first two meanings are almost certainly in view. This is true because, when it comes to the Gospel, Jesus *is* depicted as the interpreter of scripture *par excellence*, and his very words, as Smith and Moloney have each shown, are the very words of scripture.²⁴⁷ Jesus is likewise the revealer of heavenly mysteries, announcing with supercharged apocalyptic speech that his disciples ‘will see greater things than these’, they will even ‘see heaven opened and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man’ (1:51).²⁴⁸ Thus, when the FE says that

242 For ‘God’ as the likely object of the verb, see Brown 1966, 1:17–8.

243 Hoskyns 1947, 153.

244 Barrett 1955, 141.

245 See Luke 24:35; John 1:18; Acts 10:8; 15:12, 14; 21:19; Jda 7:13; Jdg 7:13; 2 Ki 8:5; 1 Macc 3:26; 2 Macc 2:13; Prov 28:13.

246 See again n. 180 in Chapter 3 above.

247 D. M. Smith 2000; Moloney 2005; 2009.

248 On the apocalyptic background of this language see n. 123 in Chapter 6 below.

‘that one ἐξηγήσατο God, he could certainly have intended this to be understood in the nuanced sense of ‘that one—namely, the μονογενής / θεός / ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς—revealed God specifically: (i) by offering the supreme interpretation of Torah’, and (ii) ‘by divulging the most sacred of divine mysteries’. In typical fashion, then, in its most general and more specific meanings, the last word in v. 18 would constitute another excellent example of the FE’s extraordinary gift and tendency for finding nuclear words, explosive in meaning, replete with ideational and pedagogical potential.

But what of the third meaning? Is this best attested meaning also in view? And, presuming for heuristic purposes it is in view, what would it mean to say that ‘that one revealed God specifically and also by (iii) ‘recounting a narrative’? The questions multiply: for which narrative has ‘that one’ recounted, and when and how has he recounted it? Two observations from v. 18, and a third from the prologue as a whole, help to answer these questions. They also seem to make this meaning quite plausible.

To begin with, the aorist indicative ἐξηγήσατο is timeless, and signifies that—at some time, in some way—Jesus ‘recounted a narrative’. What narrative, in particular, is being signified is left undefined and open.²⁴⁹ Thus, the FE simply declares: ‘That one recounted a narrative’ without indicating when or how. If we want to know when or how, we have to look for other clues. This leads to a second observation about v. 18.

As I have been conveying in my paraphrase, several scholars believe the central descriptive phrase in v. 18—μονογενής θεός ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς—is best read as offering a threefold summary description of Jesus’ fundamental identity. This seems right.²⁵⁰ What needs to be observed, however, as the body of the FG will demonstrate, is how this threefold identification of Jesus is applicable *both* to the Pre-incarnate *and* Incarnate Logos. In each stage of Jesus’ existence, we discover, he was/is: (a) the only begotten Son (μονογενής),²⁵¹

249 As James Allen Hewitt writes, The aorist indicative is used to express simple past time. It makes no reference to how long it took for an action to be completed—only that it happened. It views an action as a single, unitary event regardless of its duration and without any implication of lasting consequence’ (Hewett 2009, 92).

250 Whether or not the FE also intends this three-fold summary to be something of a *tricolon crescens*, whereby what the reader/listener needs to know about Jesus for rightly understanding him in what is to come in the gospel is divulged in escalating order (i.e. first that he is ‘son’, second that he is ‘God’, and third that he is ‘one who lays in the father’s lap in most intimate fellowship of love with the Father’), is another tantalizing question I cannot get in to.

251 John 3:16–17 communicates that the ‘Son’ (τὸν υἱὸν) the Father sent—i.e. *from heaven*—to save the world (v. 17) was the same μονογενής he ‘gave’ due to his love for the world (v. 16) John 17 also makes Jesus’ eternal sonship clear.

(b) God (θεός),²⁵² and (c) in the sweetest of loving fellowship with the Father (ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς).²⁵³ The significance of this observation, of course, is that when the FE says that ‘that one’—namely, the only begotten son, God, in the bosom of the Father—(iii) ‘recounted a narrative (about/ revealing God)’, no specific timeframe is being indicated. The FE could be saying that ‘that one’ recounted a story about God in his Pre-incarnate *or* Incarnate existence. Or, of course, and far more interestingly, he could be intimating both.

Indeed, thirdly, if I am anywhere on the right track in what I have now argued about the overarching shape and flow of the prologue, then there is good reason to believe that the FE intends to intimate that the Logos has retold the story of God in both timeframes, in his career as the Logos *asarkos* (vv. 1–13) and his career as the Logos *ensarkos* (vv. 14–17). For as I have shown, the first manifestation of the Logos in vv. 1–13 is, highly significantly, itself presented as a retelling of the story of creation, Adam, Israel, and the world, a story otherwise summarized as the rejection of the Logos by the many and the reception of the Logos by the few. This story was and is none other than the story of God as collectively remembered and monumentalized in the story of scripture, cued to at the beginning of the prologue and mentioned repeatedly throughout the body of the Gospel. This is the scriptural tale writ large. This scriptural tale, I hasten to add, is implicitly attributed to the pre-incarnate Logos in the prologue and then more explicitly in the body of the Gospel. The pre-incarnate Logos *is* the Creative ‘Word’, who came to Adam, and came to the world, and specifically came to Israel in the form of the Law and her prophetically inspired scriptures, the FE implies in the prologue. This is no doubt why Jesus is unapologetically depicted in the Gospel as the interpreter of scripture *par excellence*, whose very words *are* scripture, to whom the scriptures point, and who can authoritatively decipher between the bones and marrow of what Moses wrote. Jesus knows what Moses’ meant because, *as* the pre-incarnate Logos, possibly the one who’s glory the FE is saying Moses saw on Sinai, Jesus revealed to Moses *what* to write. Consequently, it is entirely possible that when the FE says cryptically in v. 18 that ‘that one recounted the story of God’, the FE is referring, in the first instance, to the pre-incarnate Logos’ recounting of this story in the scriptures of Israel.

252 E.g., cf. John 1:1; 20:28. The alternate reading of ‘son’ for ‘God’ here in v. 18 would equally accord with the point we are making, as Jesus is explicitly depicted as the son of God before and during his sojourn on earth.

253 This is what the phrase ‘in the bosom of his father’ certainly means. Cf. e.g., Gen 16:5; Num 11:12; Deut 13:7; 28:54, 56; Ruth 4:16; 2 Sam 12:3, 8; 1 Ki. 3:20; 17:19; Prov 30:4; Job 23:12; Sir 9:1; Lam 2:12; Luke 16:22–3; John 13:23; *Sib. Or.* 1:135; 8:461; *Jub.* 22:4.

But this may not be the end to what the FE is saying in v. 18. For, as v. 18 is a summary of the prologue *and* segue into the remainder of the Gospel that depicts the story of the Word enfleshed, the second section of the prologue is equally suggestive for interpreting v. 18. As I have argued, the FE presents Jesus in vv. 14–17 as the embodied answer to the problem of Adam and Israel evoked in vv. 1–13. That is to say, as the one who has become ‘flesh’ and thereby fully identified with the signature purpose and plight of humanity as it intersects with the plight of the world, the Incarnate Logos has become a legitimate new representative Adam/Israel in the world. He is as like a son in the spitting image and likeness of his father, who re-presents the ethical pedigree of his father in a new Adamic flesh. Consequently, he embodies the Law of Moses in truth, radiates the glory and presence of God in an undying way, and offers humanity the legacy of a new kind of flesh. The implication, of course, as I have been suggesting on the basis of a widespread theological anthropology and story-pattern within Judaism, is that now the story of Adam and Israel can at long last come to its *telos*, history can be completed, just as the FE announces it *is* completed when Jesus climactically glorifies the Father from the cross. Tellingly, however, this *telos* and ‘end’ of the scriptural tale, according to the FE, is only reached *after* the story of Jesus is narrated in supercharged symbolic and theological form.²⁵⁴ To be sure, and on a grander scale, prior to declaring ‘it is finished’ and completing the story-pattern (19:30), Jesus is shown, as I will begin to defend more comprehensively in Chapter 7, to reenact the fundamental movements of the scriptural story, beginning with the (re-)establishment of a true Israel, and continuing with a career that looks very much like the career of Moses before crossing the Jordan in Joshua-like fashion in order to do battle as a new David against the ‘Prince of this world’.

In short, there is once again good reason to believe that the FE’s cryptic statements are cryptic for a reason. Like all good crypts, there is more than one body hidden inside. In this instance, when the FE says cryptically that ‘that one recounted a narrative’ revealing God, it appears that the ‘narrative’ to which he is referring is the narrative of God’s dealings with Adam and Israel. The ‘recounting’ to which he is referring appears to split in two directions. In the first place, the Logos recounted this story of God *in* scripture, via the ‘ink’ of the prophets and sages. In the second place, the Logos recounted this story of God *as* the vivification of scripture, as the scriptural tale reenacted in the flesh. In this way, Jesus represents the ultimate do-over. He does what

254 See again Jesus’ announcement from the cross that τετέλεσται, ‘it is finished’ in 19:30, and the article by Moloney 2009, discussed on p. 18 above.

former generations did but does it better as a new Adam, constituted of a better imperishable substance, and is thereby enabled to bring humanity and history to its long-awaited climax, where heaven and earth kiss, and the glory of God begins to be all in all. It is this latter recounting that the FE is about to relay in fuller form. In this way, v. 18 does seem to form an ingenious segue into the body of the Gospel.

PART 3

A Story Told to the End?

∴

An Argument for the Number-Patterning of the Fourth Gospel

Analysis is necessary to make [traditional forms] explicit. It is a kind of repatriation, then... to help recover in older texts their lineaments of shaping artistry.¹

...

The number of verses, stanzas, scenes, or acts within a larger unit is not random or arbitrary, but usually accords with whatever number pattern is dominant in a society.²

...

Now it is relatively easy to make a cake if you have the recipe. It is somewhat trickier to start with the cake and from that figure out how it is made. But that is exactly what poetics tries to do.³

∴

6.1 Introduction

Whatever its compositional prehistory, it is now commonly agreed among Johannine scholars that the final form of the FG ‘carries the hallmark of genius’.⁴ Some author or editor, armed with a conspicuous principle of selection, sifted through various stories in the Jesus tradition, picking only some

¹ Hymes 1994, 353–4.

² Kinkade 2005, 40.

³ Berlin 1983, 15.

⁴ Ashton 2007, 112. Cf. Newbigin 1982, xii. By ‘final form’ I mean the major form in which the FG has come down to us in all the manuscripts, minus only the *Pericope Adulterae*. On the nature and ‘fittingness’ of the *Pericope Adulterae* in the gospel’s present form, see p. 322 below.

for artful re-presentation.⁵ The structure of the Gospel manifests this deliberate design. What this design is, however, at least in its literary manifestation, is debated.⁶

Indeed, arguments for the literary structure of the FG are legion, and some extremely complex.⁷ Three reasons seem to account for this. First and most simply, scholars tend to view the Gospel from varying levels of abstraction. Viewing the material from a satellite perspective, scholars typically find three to five major blocks, acts, or divisions of material.⁸ Others, focusing more narrowly on distinctive scenes or episodes, identify significantly more sections.⁹ On balance, the differences in these outlines, especially the latter of these, point less to fundamental disagreements about the FE's structural intentions as to the various commentators' indexical predilections for the purpose of commentary.

Secondly, the FG's language is highly symbolic, polyphonic, and repetitive. Such a work is profoundly generative of the appearance of patterns. Structures have been proposed, for example, on the basis of the FE's reiterations concerning Galilee and Jerusalem, Jesus' 'hour', Jewish feasts, elements of Jewish worship, and more.¹⁰ It is certainly possible that some of these suggestions, such as the so-called 'Cana-to-Cana' cycle, are structural; but it is equally probable that some of these 'structures' are better identified as motifs or, as Douglas Estes argues, as authorial means of 'coherence-building'.¹¹

Thirdly, implicit in and intimately related to these last two points, proposals for the FG's structure have proliferated due to the sweeping range of criteria employed for detection. Geographical, liturgical, chronological, symbolic, numeric, dramatic, thematic, concentric, chiasmic, and more markers have

5 Cf. John 20:30–1; 21:31.

6 Once again, by literary structure is meant how the text as a final product binds itself together via a denotative, intricate network of internal, self-referential connections. See p. 51 above.

7 See, e.g., the literally hundreds of interlocking chiasms suggested by Ellis 1999; 2003; and K. Smith 2005.

8 See, e.g., the outlines of Westcott 1881; Dodd 1953; Brown 1966; Bultmann 1971; Segovia 1991, 67; Pryor 1992; Witherington 1995; Culpepper 1998; D. Moody Smith 1999.

9 See, e.g., the outlines of Hoskyns 1947; Barrett 1955; Schnackenburg 1968; Lindars 1972.

10 See Mlakuzhyil 1987 (updated 2011).

11 Estes 2008, 184 n. 126. So, for example, it could potentially be argued that the FE shows two miracles in Cana not for structural purposes, *per se*, but to build theological coherence: for example, Jesus is well received outside Jerusalem, in Cana; but as we find out, the plot thickens when he comes to Jerusalem. See further discussion on the 'Cana-to-Cana cycle' on p. 271 below.

all been singled out as 'the key' to unveiling the FG's structure. John Pryor, dependent on Mlakuzhyil's impressive survey,¹² categorizes the array of criteria into four groups:¹³ (1) proposals based on external considerations, such as A. Guilding's argument that the FG's structure has been influenced by Jewish lectionary cycles;¹⁴ (2) proposals based on rhythmic or numerical considerations, such as Mlakuzhyil's chiasms or Dodd's sevenfold division of the 'Book of Signs'; (3) proposals based on literary considerations, such as Dodd's repeating narrative-discourse and discourse-narrative pattern;¹⁵ and (4) proposals based on thematic considerations, such as Westcott's focus on the theme of revelation or Brown's focus on Jesus and the Jewish feasts. Although Pryor acknowledges that some scholars—most notably Brown—have managed to offer proposals that combine these four categories, he, for whatever reason, does not identify combined proposals as a fifth group. Brodie is no doubt correct, however, when he judges that many of these proposals 'are not mutually exclusive' and the FG may comprise 'interweaving structures'.¹⁶ Mlakuzhyil himself argues that the most persuasive proposal will be one which sees the convergence—if not of multiple proposals—then at least of multiple criteria.¹⁷ This is certainly correct. Yet, as both Mlakuzhyil and Brodie recognize, if the FE is to be credited with a compositional master plan—which is to say, if the author or final editor of the FG may be said to have had *some* sort of architectonic blueprint into which his parts were fit—then some structures within the FG must be seen as non-existent or in supportive roles to what we may call a more comprehensive 'master structure'. But what might this master structure be?¹⁸

In contrast to the bulk of studies hitherto undertaken, focused as they are almost singularly on the literary structure of the text, the next two chapters of this study, while not dismissing the literary elements, will focus especially on exploring the idea that a traditional oral form in cooperation with other oral-traditional elements has informed the underlying macrostructure of the FG.

12 Mlakuzhyil 1987.

13 Pryor 1992, 95–100.

14 Guilding 1960; though see (again) the critical response of Morris 1964.

15 The Book of Signs following the former, and the Book of Passion following the latter. See Dodd 1953, 290.

16 Brodie 1993, 21.

17 Mlakuzhyil 1987, 87. Mlakuzhyil outlines a host of literary, dramatic, and structural criteria (see 87–112 for full discussion).

18 Brodie singles out the temporally unfolding theme of three Passover feasts (see 23–4). Mlakuzhyil singles out a macrocosmic chiasm into which smaller chiasms have been fit (see Chapters 4 and 5).

More specifically, it will be argued that, in relationship to and as a thoughtful extension of the story-pattern embedded in and projected by the prologue, the FE has patterned the most fundamental blocks of his narrative to recapitulate the most fundamental moves of Israel's story as witnessed in the Primary History and retold in additional works still available to us. Furthermore, I will argue that the FE has 'packaged' these foundational moves into an overarching number-pattern.

Consequently, our investigation will aim to show sensitivity to all four categories outlined by Pryor. That is to say, as an argument foregrounding the potential use of an oral-traditional form that works *en rapport* with number-patterns, I will be attuned both to external factors and the presence of number-patterns.¹⁹ Further, as a complex work of verbal art that participates in a syncretic (oral and literary) poetics, I will be attentive to how a potential scriptural tale may be simultaneously absorbed into or complemented by literary features and/or microstructures within the text. Finally, as a structure that aims to progress in its linear manifestation according to an Israelite script potentially metamorphosed by the FE into a rainbow of associative colours, attention will be given to the thematic contours of the various divisions of the FG. My foremost goal in the foregoing, however, will be to explore the hypothesis of an orally-influenced framework, constituted of story-pattern and number-pattern together.

As clarified by the findings of Chapter 3 above, the basic presupposition fuelling this exploration is that, in preparation for the act either of performance or written composition, the FE would have to have made some decisions regarding how he was going to tell, and subsequently make memorable (for performers and listeners alike), his ideologically shaped story of Jesus. Composers in that era, we must remember, ordinarily did not have the luxury of working out their stories ahead of time by a painstaking literary art: scratching out the composition first by incremental steps on white paper until the textual pearl was formed (i.e. via modern *tAgora* methods). Instead, in most instances, especially in peasant contexts, the whole work would have had to be conceived ahead of time in its broadest possible outlines, in imagination (with or without the aid of community), and then worked out and ornamented in performance(s), and then eventually written down onto rare and expensive

19 By external factors in this instance I am referring to general oral and traditional environment in which the FE was rooted and that would purportedly have had an influence on his compositional strategy.

'paper'.²⁰ The FE's first decision, therefore, as would have been common in his orally rooted environment—and even as I showed for entirely new works within a tradition—would have been to adopt a ready skeleton for his work. In other words, as a first order of business, some sort of framework would need to be chosen to guide and restrain his thoughts. As Albert Lord has said, and we may apply via a process of retrospective analogue, 'this was the whole basis of his art'.²¹

Given that the FE was Jewish, ostensibly embroiled in a conflict with synagogue Jews over the true meaning of the Jewish scriptures, and given that he was aiming to tell a story for transformational and pedagogical purposes, I propose that he quite naturally chose to use the story of Israel as the 'master structure' for his telling of the story of Jesus. I also propose—not that he needed to but by the merits of convention and calculation—that he made a second decision. This second decision was to 'package' this sub-tale, with its most prominent sequences of moves, in a way that would more niftily draw attention to the relationship between the story of Jesus and a sub-story of Israel. Since it was also customary in his orally rooted environment, as will be discussed at greater length below, to frame or 'package' traditional story-patterns into number-patterns, and since this technique, however re-engineered, could indeed more meaningfully frame his story of Jesus as a retelling of the story of Israel, this is exactly what I propose that he did. The FE cleverly 'packaged' the story-pattern—and thus his surface story of Jesus—into a number-pattern in a way that would be mnemonically propitious and rhetorically meaningful. Finally, picking up the reality of syncretic poetics, I propose that as time went on, and first-performed editions or vocalized 'drafts' gave way to subsequent editions, and the story was refined in the dialogical atmosphere of communal

20 According to Richard Horsley, the early Jesus movement was almost certainly constituted of peasant groups. This is of definite methodological consequence: 'Thus we are in the unusual position of having literary sources for popular life and culture which it may be inappropriate to interpret in the same way as the more usual literary sources that reflect concerns of the cultural elite' (Horsley 1994, 71). For the view that the canonical gospels were preceded by 'impressively wide and strong', preliterate, 'narrative modes' and oral presentations of the story of Jesus, see Hurtado 2003, 356–7.

21 Even if the FE was an elite 'literati' and inclined and equipped from the outset toward distinctively literary modes of composition, the 'rhetorical persistence of oral forms', as Foley calls it, makes it eminently probable that he would have nonetheless used patterns in accord with traditional (if ethno-poetically determined) conventions. This is to say, more often than not within a largely oral and pre-print culture, literature as such will invariably bear the marks of oral poetic influences, especially at the level of its structure. See again section 3.2.2 above.

performances,²² the FE or subsequent editors could set the story down in writing. This task would have naturally invited the addition of all of the ‘coherence-building’ details customary in a literary, tAgora poetics.

In sum, it is proposed that in terms of its compositional history, the FG’s structure would have *first* been subject to oAgora influences (viz. story-pattern and number-pattern), and *then* subject to tAgora influences (viz. all the aforementioned devices typically associated with that art form). The first task in recovering the FE’s master structure, therefore, must be an attempt to expose a potential oAgora skeleton around which flesh was wrapped. Ethnopoetic scholar, Dell Hymes, expresses this obligation well:

Even with splendid narrations, aesthetic value and analysis can easily be at odds. Being unfamiliar with the conventions of another tradition . . . we may need to have what goes on called to our attention, pointed out, in order to see it. . . . I call this “showing the bones of the narrative.” . . . [These “bones”] must be presented first.²³

Accordingly, the plan of the present and next chapter is to argue for the architectonic ‘bones’ of the FG, consisting of story-pattern and number-pattern together. I will first try to identify a specific number-pattern in the present chapter prior to presenting evidence for how a scriptural tale might fit within it in Chapter 7. The basic justification for the decision to identify the number-pattern first is rooted in the fact that, as just noted, number-patterns are consistently used in oral traditional contexts to frame all types of traditional integers, including story-patterns. There is nothing to say that this numeric convention would not be upheld even when the story-pattern was used for new purposes, to ‘yield something unprecedented’.²⁴ Consequently, the discovery of a number-pattern in the FG as it frames the story of Jesus may prove instrumental for discovering and shedding light on the contours of a scriptural sub-tale in the FG. Thus, a number-pattern may be profitably sought out first. The impetus to seek such a pattern, of course, is not hard to come by, as the FE’s affinity for numbers is well known.²⁵ This, we repeat, is the basic justification for the plan of the present chapter. In light of the flood of numeric proposals already on offer in Johannine studies, however, it is recognized that more than a basic justification for yet another numeric proposal is required. A full-bodied defence is *de rigueur*.

²² See again p. 104 above.

²³ Hymes 1994, 353.

²⁴ See again p. 95 above.

²⁵ See n. 87 and section 6.3 (*passim*) below.

6.2 Yet Another Proposal for Number-Patterns in the Fourth Gospel

The ancient proverb announces, 'Better to be drunk than drowned'.²⁶ Unfortunately, when it comes to finding number-patterns in the FG, no 'better' seems available at all. For, as many critics justly observe, when it comes to proposals for numerological schemes in the FG, Johannine scholars appear both drunk and drowned. The idea that the FG contains number-patterns constitutes an *idée fixe* among many. Consequently, because strophes are as easy to count as sections, and because days are as easy to count as devils, Johannine scholarship is now drowning in conflicting proposals. For example, to offer a tiny sampling, while Lohmeyer claims that the whole Gospel divides into seven discreet episodes, Mateos and Barreto claim that the number-pattern is actually six.²⁷ Defourney, like Lohmeyer, sees seven episodes, but in a very different way.²⁸ Similarly, both Barosse and Carmichael imagine the seven days of Genesis 1 operating structurally in the FG, yet in ways that do not match up.²⁹ Boismard himself offers two distinct numerological proposals at two different times in his career—and even these proposals, by this same author, conflict at several points!³⁰ Certainly, the incredulity, if not contempt, of those like Pryor towards any suggestion of comprehensive number schemes in the FG is excusable.³¹ Indeed, at this point in the party, it seems that the only sober-minded thing to do is to refrain from such intoxicating spirits entirely.³²

This caution is heeded. Yet, the prevalence of number-patterns in oral traditional contexts, and especially their close relationship with traditional referential forms, prevent this study from abandoning their possibility completely. Additionally, there appear to be several new and/or neglected insights that may

26 Mieder 1986, 128.

27 See Mlakuzhyil 1987, 29.

28 E. Lohmeyer divides the FG into the following seven sections 1:1–18, 1:19–51; 2–6; 7–12; 13–19; 20; 21; whereas P. Defourney, who excludes the prologue in his count, finds the following seven sections based on the recurring phrase *μετά τοῦτο* / *ταῦτα*: 1:19–2:11; 2:12–3:21; 3:22–4:54; ch. 5; ch. 6; chs. 7–20; ch. 21). See the summaries in Mlakuzhyil 1987, 26–7.

29 Cf. Barrosse 1959; Carmichael 1996; Williams 1998a. Williams likely represents a mass sentiment about number-patterns in general when she remarks more specifically of Carmichael's scheme: 'This is an interesting, but highly speculative analysis, one which makes quite extraordinary claims . . . One is reminded of Carmichael's own assessment of Philo as "a consummate exponent of the art of finding several meanings in the same text"' (104 n. 2).

30 See Mlakuzhyil 1987, 31–5.

31 Pryor 1992, 96.

32 See Bultmann's caution (112 n. 3), or, more recently, the discussion and cautionary references listed in Estes 2008, 158.

be derived from (A) psychology, (B) a deeper probe into the use of number-patterns in oral traditional contexts, (C) Jewish tradition, and (D) the Johannine tradition outside the FG (viz. the Apocalypse) that will not only offer a clearer set of guidelines by which the presence of number-patterns may be discerned, but also a dynamic lens whereby that which is 'packaged' into them may be understood. This is specifically true with reference to this study's specific proposal that the FG unfolds on the whole, rather simply and nobly, as a series of four or five heptads. Furthermore, I will suggest that the seventh and first units of the first two major heptads function critically as bridge or janus passages, whereby their closures and openings are dovetailed, creating the impression of passages that (as it were) 'looks both ways'.³³ I say there are four *or five* major heptads because there is some ambiguity, quite possibly intentional, revolving around the third and fourth major heptads, and specifically on whether or not they should be viewed as part of the same heptad or separately. While leaving this unresolved, I will for heuristic purposes deal with them separately. Thus, it will be argued that the FG is framed, and displays a concatenated unity, as a series of:

1. Seven Days (1:1–2:11)
2. Seven Signs (2:1–12:50)
3. Seven Days (12:1–19:42)
4. Seven Days (20:1–31)³⁴
5. Seven Disciples (21:1–25)

**The janus sections occupy 2:1–11 and 11:1–12:50.*

The *prima facie* evidence for this schema is straightforward, as all of these number-patterns can either be identified or counted off from the text without too much difficulty. Indeed, most of these heptads have been identified by various scholars at different times, even if not in a complete chain. Multiple scholars have also identified 2:1–11 and/or 11:1–12:50 as bridge or transition

33 'A "bridge-passages" is one which "bridges" or connects two successive units by concluding the first and by introducing the second. Thus a "bridge-passages" is more than a mere transition . . . it belongs to both units' (Mlakuzhyil 1987, 104). Bruce Waltke finds bridge passages integral to the poetics of Hebrew composers, but calls the device a 'janus'. 'Janus refers to a literary unit that looks back and forth to unite the units before and after. The term comes from the Roman god of doorways, a god with one head and two faces looking both ways . . . Many interpreters fail to understand the function of these passages and so fail to relate the material to both the preceding and following texts' (Waltke 2007, 122).

34 The decision not to make 20:26–35 a separate section of seven days on the basis of the notation in 20:26 will be explained below.

sections, while establishing precedent for this feature from other contemporary literatures.³⁵ As Talbert explains:

Although unsettling to a modern reader, [bridge patterning] follows the ancient directives for relating one part to another in narrative (Lucian, "How to Write History," 55, says of the historian, "When he has finished the first topic he will introduce the second, fastened to it and linked with it like a chain . . . ; always the first and second topics must not merely be neighbors but have common matter and overlap").³⁶

Even more significantly, Dell Hymes has identified this rhetorical device in oral compositions. Especially interesting is the fact that he finds it used in conjunction with number-patterns. For example, speaking of a broad range of oral compositions, Hymes notes that

sequences of three tend to give an implicit rhythm of onset, ongoing, outcome. A development of this last, found as far apart as the Columbia River, Philadelphia, and Finland, integrates two sequences of three within a sequence of five. It is possible (not necessary) to have the third unit a pivot, completing one succession of three and beginning another. I call this "interlocking".³⁷

Talbert explains that because this method is foreign to the modern reader, the best way for the modern commentator to proceed is to explain the janus passage under question in two steps: first, insofar as it functions as a conclusion to the material it follows; and secondly, insofar as it functions as an introduction to the material it precedes. This will be the basic approach adopted below.³⁸

In my present attempt to argue for a number-pattern in the FG, I will offer external justification (A–D above) prior to looking at evidence from within the text of FG (6.3). Further, in presenting the external evidence, I will move from the most general to the most specifically salient data (hence, A → B → C → D). This will enable me to build the argument progressively. Also, I will restrict

35 So Brown 1966, cxi; Mlakuzhyil 1987, 151, 159; Moloney 1993, 59; Witherington 1995, 41–2; Talbert 2005, 185–6; Lindars 1972, 123, who says: 'The opening sequence of the gospel is rounded off with the miracle at Cana . . . At the same time it is the first act of what is to follow'.

36 Talbert 2005, 185–6.

37 Hymes 1994, 332.

38 For further discussion on bridge-passages, see Mlakuzhyil 1987, 151, 159.

myself to highlighting the relevant discoveries/insights about numbers, number-patterns, and/or their uses—especially heptads where relevant—in these distinct areas before showing how my proposal for the FG’s numeric structure simply appears to ‘work’, rather simply and nobly, with these insights in section 6.3.

6.2.1 *Arithmo-thymia and the Psychology of Counting Up versus Counting Down*

Conducting a case study on a sampling of over seven-hundred college students at the University of Poznan in Poland, psychologist Stefan Blachowski concludes in *Counting Fence Posts* (1929) that 54% of human beings are inclined to count, even when there has been no external habituation, instruction, or prompting to do so. As summarized by his reviewers,³⁹ the students in question indicated that they regularly found themselves quantifying objects of no particular significance. The objects ranged from ‘planks in the floor, wall-paper patterns, windows . . . [to] stakes in fences’.⁴⁰ The most common element was the counting of the linear or successive nature of the objects. As one student summarized, ‘If I see something arranged in a row, pictures on the wall, for instance, I count them’.⁴¹ This natural tendency to count, Blachowski suggests, may be called ‘arithmo-thymia’. Obsessive forms of this tendency (which are rare), where the counting habit ‘shade[s] over into a compulsion’, may be called ‘arithmo-mania’.⁴² Blachowski points out that, despite erstwhile tendencies for psychologists to focus only on extreme cases, his study showed that ‘arithmo-mania is merely an abnormal variation of the common impulse to count’.⁴³ Further, ‘it is safe to say that [his students’] mental habits are fairly typical of human beings anywhere, and not merely college-age humans either’.⁴⁴

Arithmo-thymic inclinations were found to serve as unconscious mnemonic aids, as with one student who realized upon reflection that he tended to count the number of stations during railway journeys so that he could later recount that ‘journey in detail’.⁴⁵ Arithmo-thymic inclinations were also found to serve

39 Blachowski’s work has proven very difficult to find. Consequently, I depend entirely on his reviewers.

40 Anon. 1929, 164.

41 Anon. 1929.

42 E. C. Davis 1929, 316.

43 E. C. Davis 1929, 316.

44 E. C. Davis 1929, 315.

45 E. C. Davis 1929, 1.

a psychological craving for the feeling of completion, as with the prodigious Samuel Johnson, who is reported to have ‘tapped with his cane against fence railings in Fleet Street as he walked along, and if he missed one, he turned back to touch it’.⁴⁶

An apparently neglected, but likely related, component of the psychology of counting is the difference between counting up versus counting down.⁴⁷ To be sure, both counting up (cardinality) and counting down (reverse cardinality) may be seen to serve the psychological drive for completion. Yet an argument might be made that, while we can count both up and down in a way that anticipates a definite event and thus completes the waiting period, this dynamic is accentuated (at least in the modern world) in experiences of counting down. For example, we count up in playing hide-and-go-seek, whereupon the seeker is released after counting up to one hundred. But we tend to count down to far more significant events: to wedding days, space shuttle launches, detonating explosives. It is noteworthy in this regard that there is, at least in the English language, no dictional equilibrant to ‘the countdown’ (the countup?). The fact that Israel’s scripture attests the practice both of counting up (e.g., Lev 23:16; 25:50) and counting down (e.g., Lev 15:13, 28) suggests that this difference was recognized in ancient Israelite and Jewish contexts. I will say more about the idiosyncratic nature of counting in Jewish tradition below. I will also say more about the intriguing fact that the FE only once prompts his audience(s) to count down—and at the most pivotal place in his Gospel (12:1).

6.2.2 *Number-Patterns in Oral Traditional Contexts*

Humans do not only have a natural inclination to count. Research into the storytelling practices of oral traditional cultures, both ancient and modern, attest the highly intentional use of number-patterns, or ‘pattern numbers’ as they are sometimes called. These pattern numbers are used to frame any range of traditional integers or ‘words’. As M. Dale Kincade reports after surveying fieldwork conducted among an array of oral traditional cultures,

46 E. C. Davis 1929, 316.

47 The only place, scholarly or otherwise, where I could find any discussion of such a psychology was in an online transcription of a daily teaching on Torah observance. See the laconic gloss about the difference between counting up and counting down made by Rabbi Avraham Kahn at www.shemayisrael.com/parsha/kahn/archives/emor63.htm (accessed June 18, 2012).

the number of verses, stanzas, scenes, or acts within a larger unit is not random or arbitrary, but usually accords with whatever number-pattern is dominant in a society.⁴⁸

This use of number-patterns may be explicit. 'Thus, in the Upper Chehalis units of five are common and overtly expressed: there are five Cougar brothers, five daughters of fire, five baskets of water are given to Bluejay to put out the fires on the five prairies he must cross'.⁴⁹ Alternatively, this use of pattern numbers may be subtle. For example, the Columbian tradition, whose pattern number is five, consistently has Coyote fathering five (named) sons, whereas in Kalispel, where the pattern number is four, Coyote 'has only four'.⁵⁰ That these pattern numbers may also have traditional significance, and thus freight certain integers with a sort of double referential encoding, is evident among the Xhosa in Africa, whereby the cultural number five, which is associated with the idea of 'balance', is set in dramatic opposition to the number four as one less than five and therefore representative of 'imbalance'.⁵¹ Native African anthropologist Jan Vansina reports the same phenomenon from his own fieldwork, and locates the significance of such number-patterning in a community's wider worldview:

There are perfect numbers . . . as four among the Maya or Yoruba (Nigeria). There are numbers standing for "many" as does six among the Ainu. . . . And just as space, time, and cause are, so number is linked to a wider worldview. Perfect numbers are religious numbers and so are sinister numbers, the numbers of ill luck.⁵²

These culturally embedded numbers are also used more and less *creatively*. As Herbert Luthin, editor of the anthology *Surviving through the Days: Translations of Native California Stories and Songs* (Luthin 2002), reports while highlighting the prodigious scope and rationale for such patterns:

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- 48 Kinkade 2005, 40. He continues: 'Just as European folklore has groups of three as its pattern, so in the Northwest four and five are dominant (the latter among the southernmost Salishan groups, Sahaptin, Chinookan, and some groups in Oregon)' (Kinkade 2005, 40). See also Foley 1995a, 1:21, n. 51.
- 49 Kinkade 2005, 40.
- 50 Kinkade 2005, 40.
- 51 See Opland 1996, 124.
- 52 Vansina 1985, 132–3.

Pattern numbers may be found in all the world's cultures, a predisposition that stems, perhaps, from a still more fundamental numeric capacity . . . After the manner of language itself, numbers provide human beings with an instrument for perceiving and controlling their world—for structuring and hence manipulating it. . . . Examples of episodic repetition are everywhere in this volume . . . form[ing] a prominent feature of the narrative landscape. But really, this important rhetorical device is present at least in some measure, on large scales or small, in almost all the selections. Sometimes the patterns are played out in full, very strictly; other times, narrators choose merely to summarize some of the sequences.⁵³

Undoubtedly, this convention of creatively organizing traditional works according to numeric schemes would have redoubled a traditional audience's inclination to pay attention to explicitly mentioned numbers as well as to count successive and seemingly important elements in narratives that were not explicitly numbered.

In short, discoveries about the use of pattern numbers in oral traditional contexts suggest that any interpretation of oral or oral-derived works must be attentive to the possibility of number-patterns and metonymic 'words' working in tandem. The presence of number-patterns may be taken as a cue to look for constellations of traditional integers; conversely, the presence of conglomerations of associations may be taken as a cue to look for number-patterns.⁵⁴ Furthermore, the fact that overt and covert number-patterns were used profusely in oral traditional contexts, and in both conventional and creative ways, suggests that objections to the idea of number-patterns in the FG on the basis that they are not explicit or obvious are devoid of force.⁵⁵ Once again, the

53 Luthin 2002, 41.

54 Coincidentally, Aristotle's own counsel was that instead of utilizing a 'free-running' style, composers ought to construct pieces that were compact and serially organized according to 'periods'. A period is defined as 'a portion of speech that has in itself a beginning and an end'. The reason this kind of periodic prose is preferable, Aristotle continues, is because 'language of this kind is satisfying and easiest to follow'; moreover, periodic prose 'can be numbered, and [the] number of all things is easiest to remember' (*Rhetoric*, Bk III, 9.1409^a–1409^b). Interestingly, there is no indication in Aristotle that this numbering is or needs to be explicit. Instead, the logic of his argument implies that periodic prose is easy to remember precisely because periodic prose, with its beginnings and endings, can be internally numbered by composers and, presumably, counted off by (aural) receivers.

55 E.g., *pace* Bultmann: 'I can find no trace of the importance of the number seven for John' (112 n. 3).

lack of obvious visibility or verifiability in traditional works does not mean a lack of presence. It only points to a difficulty in proving presence. This fact underscores the necessity of building inductive arguments. Cumulative cases must be made.

Luthin and Hymes identify an additional four characteristics of the use of number-patterns in oral traditional contexts that will certainly help to build a case.

First, although it is typical that number-patterns constitute something of a 'stumbling block' to 'readers coming from a European or Europeanized background', who tend not to understand their presence or function, it is nonetheless crucial for readers to become aware of their presence and the ways in which they are designed to influence hearers 'sense of time, of suspense and expectation'.⁵⁶ In other words, as framing devices, the recognition of number-patterns may provide insight into the structural divisions and dramatic flow of oral or oral-derived stories.

Secondly, and closely related to the first point, the final scene or episode in numeric sequences are frequently designed to cap or climax those that have led up to it:

The principle involved in succession . . . [may be described] as 'the recurrent arousal and satisfying of expectation.' Not a straight line, but a series of arcs. What Burke writes of works accepted as literature is pervasively true of oral narrative, and often enough deserves the connotations of his other term for it, "eloquence".⁵⁷

One of the simplest examples of this sort of numeric 'eloquence' that arouses expectation in order to deliver a dramatic punch at the end may be found in a Native American narrative called "The Deserted Boy". The story was transcribed in performance by anthropologist Edward Sapir in 1905. As Hymes recounts, within this cultural context, a 'sequence of five is a standard pattern that arouses expectation of completion'.⁵⁸ Accordingly:

The boy fishes five times. Four times we are told that he has caught one (two, three, four) fish, eaten half of what he has caught, and saved half for the morning. . . . The fifth time we are not told what he has caught; rather: "Now five times the boy had fished. Now he had become a grown man".⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Luthin 2002, 43.

⁵⁷ Hymes 1994, 332–3. See also Luthin 2002, 43.

⁵⁸ Hymes 1994, 344.

⁵⁹ Hymes 1994, 344.

Third, as noted above, number-patterning may be used in conjunction with ‘interlocking,’ so that the final unit of one completed cycle can become the first unit of a next cycle, causing the narrative to progressively build on itself to multiple climaxes. Hymes recounts this poetic arrangement as it surfaces in a story from Philadelphia. A narrative of five scenes is built of two sets of three scenes, hinging on a central scene that ends the one and begins the other:

The first three scenes show an initial condition, development of it, and a proximate outcome. The series could be taken as complete. The third scene, however, turns out to be the first of a second series of three, concerned with stages of acceptance. The two series of scenes interlock at the level of the narrative as a whole.⁶⁰

Fourth, and critically, different cultures possess different dominant number-patterns that must be appreciated idiosyncratically (or ethnopoetically). ‘In the Americas, fours and fives are more prevalent than threes, and this is true in Native California, too.’⁶¹ In ancient Israelite and Jewish circles, few numbers were as dominant as the number seven.

6.2.3 *Heptads in Jewish Tradition*

The use of numbers in antiquity, generally, and the use of the number seven, specifically—along with its fractions ($3\frac{1}{2}$) and multiples (14, 70, 77)—is unarguable. A mere glance at almost any composition within any genre in Jewish tradition, not to mention an abundance of non-Jewish composition,⁶² will demonstrate the pervasiveness of the overt use of the heptad for various symbolic and compositional purposes.⁶³

60 Hymes 1994, 333.

61 Luthin 2002, 41.

62 See, e.g., Kapelrud 1968 and the use of the number seven in Ugaritic literature. Within Akkadian, Hittite and Egyptian literature, note the identifications of things like seven doors, seven bolts, seven gods, seven hathors, seven sages, and seven day feasts in *cos* 1:153a, 405c, 87b, 408a, 429d; III:329d, 331a, 333a.

63 Heptads were explicitly and symbolically deployed in both cardinal and ordinal forms. Many examples from the Hebrew OT are well known, such as ‘the seven days of Creation and the Sabbath, the Sabbatical year, the Jubilee, the Feast of Weeks, the seven days of Passover and Tabernacles, and the seven-branched candlestick . . . seven Canaanite peoples, the seven processions around Jericho, the seventy weeks in Daniel, the “seven eyes” in Zechariah, [etc]’ (Gordis 1943, 17). Perhaps somewhat less well known is the equally extensive use of heptads in pseudepigraphical, Qumran, rabbinic, apocryphal, and NT literature, such as: Adam and Eve’s ‘*exactly*’ seven year stint in the garden (*Jub.* 3:15–17) prior to seven days of mourning and another seven days of searching for food (*Vita* 1:1,

A second glance at Jewish literature, especially the epic philosophers, will also reveal the degree to which the heptad was praised in the ancient world, especially for its essentially numinous and hidden presence in the world for those who had eyes to see it. For example, Aristobulus declares that ‘the seventh day is legally binding for us as a sign of the sevenfold principle which is established around us’. He continues, ‘all the cosmos of all living beings and growing things revolves in series of sevens’ (12c–13).⁶⁴ Few ancient writers surpass Philo of Alexandria in magnifications of, and (fanciful) lucubrations on, the number seven and how it has insinuated itself into the fabric of the universe. The heptad for Philo is a quasi-divine, mystical reality that transcends human attempts to quantify its excellencies.⁶⁵ Indeed, it is a number that, because of its heavenly origin (*Opif.* 1:117), has thoroughly embedded itself into the bone and sinew of this world. This can be seen, for example, in everything ranging from geometry and trigonometry to the functions, cycles, secretions, external and internal makeup of the human body—to name only a very few.⁶⁶

Yet a third glance at a variety of Jewish literature will show that the heptad is not only used overtly in literature and understood as covertly present in the material world, but, as with oral traditions in general, the heptad is consistently used within Jewish compositions covertly and for structural purposes.

2:2), man's creation by God from seven components that constitute him with seven distinct properties (2 *En* 30:8–10), Moses' seven-day stint on Sinai (*Jub.* 1:2–4), Ezra's series of seven-day fasts (4 *Ezra* 5:13, 19, 20, 21; 6:31, 35; 9:26), Ezra's seven steps to divinity (*Ques. Ezra* Recension A, 21), and Abraham's vision of the seven sins of the world (*Apoc. Abr.* 24:3–25:2). Also see 2 *En* and 3 *En*; *Mart. Isa* 7:9–9:18; *Let. Aris*; *Jos. Asen.* 21:8; *L.A.B.* 2:3; 4 *Macc*; *Jub.* 6:32–38; 1 *En* 82:5–7; 1QS x, 5; 4QpHos=4Q171 11, 16, along with the comments in Vermes 2004, 78–9); m. *Ab* 5:7; m. *Ab* 5:8; b. *Pes* 54a; b. *Pes* 54b (for more rabbinic examples, see Gordis 1943, 22); Matt 15:34; 15:36, 37; 16:10; 22:25, 26, 28; Acts 6:3; 13:19. There are over fifty occurrences of the cardinal adjective ἑπτά in the Book of Revelation alone (see Beale 1999, 58–64). Even a quick search of just the ‘canonical’ Hebrew OT reveals that, statistically, the cardinal number שבע appears just shy of seven hundred times and features in all but six books (the numeral is only *not* found in Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Haggai). The ordinal שבעי occurs an additional ninety-eight times.

64 Likewise, Homer and Hesiod hold the number seven as sacred; according to Aristobulus, they learned to do so from reading the books of the Jews.

65 ‘I know not if any one would be able to celebrate the nature of the number seven in adequate terms’, he avows, ‘since it is superior to every form of expression’ (*Opif.* 1:90). The heptad is ‘beautiful’ (1:97), ‘perfecting’ (1:102); heavenly (1:111–112), comprehending of other numbers (1:108), and set in a mirroring relationship to the empyrean: ‘The Creator therefore, wishing that there should be a model upon earth among us of the seven-lighted sphere as it exists in heaven’ (e.g., *Her.* 1:225).

66 See *Opif.* 1:117–18, and 128 for some choice examples.

This is increasingly recognized by biblical scholars. For example, although without any apparent knowledge of the widespread numerological practices of oral traditional cultures, Robert Gordis attempted to illustrate this ‘element of biblical [OT] and rabbinic style’ already in 1943.⁶⁷ Gordis points out that ‘when this practice is recognized, it becomes a useful instrument for dealing with critical questions regarding the authenticity and unity of given passages, not alone to be sure, but in conjunction with other factors’.⁶⁸ In this vein, he draws attention to the seven: blessings to Abram (Gen 12:1–3)⁶⁹ and Jacob (27:28–29), the calamities of Amos (Amos 4:6–13), sets of timely ‘seasons’ (Eccl 3:1–8), ‘better’ circumstances (7:1–14), groups who are beyond redemption (*m. Sanh.* 10:3–6; *t.Sanh* 13:6–12), crimes punishable by strangulation (*m. Sanh* 11:1), and many more. More recently, although without any apparent awareness of the insights drawn from oral traditional contexts, Mikeal Parsons has noted how the NT is peppered with implicit sets of seven, and provides many examples.⁷⁰

67 ‘It has not been noted that this widespread predilection for the number “seven” has made it a favorite number for grouping literary material in heptads or units of seven’ (Gordis 1943, 18).

68 Gordis 1943, 18–19.

69 This is a structure not lost on the rabbis: ‘The Midrash notes this fact and develops a series of homiletic interpretations on “the three promises of greatness and the four blessings” here given (*Bereshit Rabbah* 39:11)’ (Gordis 1943, 19).

70 For example, Parson mentions how ‘the genealogy in Matthew 1 is structured according to three sets of fourteen (7×2) generations each . . . The opening narrative of Matt 1–4 contains seven fulfillments of Scripture by Jesus (1:22–3; 2:5–6, 15, 17, 23; 3:3; 4:14). Matthew 13 is a collection of seven parables about the kingdom of heaven. Matthew 23 is a collection of seven woes. . . . In Rom 2:10–18, Paul quotes seven Old Testament passages that have been collected together to prove the charge that both Jews and Gentiles are under sin. Also the florilegium in Hebrews 1 is a collection of seven passages from the Old Testament that demonstrate Jesus’ superiority over angels’ (Parsons 2008, 29). To this list we may add Luke’s positioning of Jesus as the seventy-seventh figure in the generations of human history (Luke 3:23–38; see *DBI*, ‘Seven’, 775) and, from the Pseudepigrapha, 4 *Ezra* and the Apocalypse of Abraham’s implicit series of seven visions (4 *Ezra* 5:13–14:11; *Apoc. Abr.* 15:1–27:3 [see *OTP* I, 681]). Parsons also observes the tendency within the early church to group influential letters into sets of seven, as with Ignatius’ seven letters written on the way to Rome, the seven ‘catholic’ letters (1 and 2 Peter; 1, 2, 3, John; Jas; Jude), and Paul’s communications to seven churches (Rome, Corinth, Galatia, Philippi, Colossae, Thessalonica). We may also add Josephus’ organization of his *Jewish War* into seven books (see Evans 2005, 174).

In addition to being used explicitly and implicitly, symbolically and for structural purposes, at least two other highly idiosyncratic uses of the heptad in Jewish tradition must be mentioned—even if they are seldom, if ever, explicitly identified.

Firstly, as we have already seen in several of the examples noted above, and also observed in oral traditional literatures more generally, the heptad in Jewish tradition is frequently serialized and compounding. That is to say, almost as an emblem of Aristobulus' observation that 'the cosmos revolves in series of sevens', one group of seven is interlinked with successive groups of seven, and these sets of seven tend to get populated with smaller collections of seven. This tendency is clearly seen in 3 Ezra, for example, where Salathiel is granted seven visions in which he is repeatedly called to fast for seven days. On the seventh day, one vision ends and a new one begins, thus interlinking the sets of seven into a grand chain of sevens. Further, several of Salathiel's visions unveil additional elements also presented in sets of seven. Salathiel is shown 'the seven ways' in which those that despised God shall walk 'in torments, ever grieving and sad' (7:80–87), as well as a vision of the seven orders of the righteous 'who shall see with great joy the glory of him who receives them' (7:91–101). This tendency to pile sevens into sevens appears intrinsic to Israel's temporal consciousness, as may be seen in the Hellenistic Synagogal Prayer that exclaims, 'You commanded (them) to keep Sabbath . . . for the exultant joy of the number seven. Because of this (you appointed) one seven, and seven sevens, and seventh month, and a seventh year, and with this a year for forgiveness, each fifty year cycle' (*Hel. Syn. Pr.* 5.14, 15c–17).

Secondly, and once again in general alignment with oral traditional literatures, the final unit (in this case the seventh) tends to cap or climax the whole sequence.⁷¹ The most obvious example of this generalized phenomenon is found in Genesis 1, where the seventh day clearly caps, and arguably even climaxes, the preceding six days.⁷² M. Gilbert, P. Beauchamp, and Douglas K. Clark have all identified this same climaxing function of heptads in various passages in the Wisdom of Solomon.⁷³ In these instances, as Clark articulates, 'the seventh "event" is a sign and more than a sign in that it is the reality

71 As *DBI* notices, the seventh in series of seven 'is sometimes different from the other six and climactic'.

72 A variation on this practice is to cause the seventh item in lists of more than seven to stand out in some way in comparison to the others, as with Enoch, the seventh from Adam (Gen 5:8).

73 See references in Clark 1983, 203.

towards which the signs point, both fulfilling and surpassing them.⁷⁴ Or again, the nature of the heptadic patterning is ‘of seven entities, in which six are “ordinary” and the seventh is “extraordinary,” ... the seventh event is decisive for each group ... The six events ... precede ... anticipate ... and mirror [the seventh]’.⁷⁵ Notably, the heptads discerned by these scholars are both structural and covert.

More important for our purposes is the Jewish tendency to make the seventh unit climactic in some very special ways. Most notably, the seventh in a series of seven in Jewish tradition frequently marks or presages an extraordinary moment of revelation, not least of the future and/or of God himself (theophanies). Moses is enveloped in ‘the glory of the Lord’ on Sinai on the seventh day (*Jub.* 1:2–4); “the chosen one from the eternal plant of righteousness” will appear at the end of the seventh week (1 *En.* 93:10).⁷⁶ Enoch sees the Lord ‘from a distance, sitting on his exceedingly high throne’ from the ‘seventh heaven’ (2 *En.* 20:3); Ezra is made ‘to approach the great throne of Divinity’ at the seventh step of divinity (*Ques. Ezra*, Recension A, 21); and Jesus himself is transfigured in a way that is reminiscent of God himself (cf. Dan 7, Isa 6) only μετὰ ἡμέρας ἑξ have passed—which is to say, on the seventh day (cf. Mk 9:2; Mat 17:1).⁷⁷ This kind of patterning carries all the hallmarks of what may well have been a traditional referentiality.

Similar to this idiosyncratic usage, the final unit in heptadic sequences are also frequently used in Jewish tradition to connote the idea of a period of time prior to a dramatic reversal, and/or a period of time—indeed a crescendo—after which, or in the seventh seven of which, there will be eschatological fulfillment. Thus, in distinct relationship to the sevenfold: sinners are urged to repent before judgment (*Sib. Or.* 2.311–12); Israel will suffer judgment by God for apostasy before God’s mercy will break through (Lev 26:18, 21, 24, 27, 40); Joseph endures being pursued by Potiphar’s wife (*T. Jos.* 3:4); Adam and Eve have bliss in the Garden (*Jub.* 3:15, 17);⁷⁸ the elect one of righteousness ... [with] sevenfold instruction’ will be elected (1 *En.* 93:9–12); ‘the first heaven shall depart

74 Clark 1983, 203.

75 Clark 1983, 204.

76 See comment in Olson 2013, 32.

77 For more examples see 4 *Ezra* 5:13; *Apoc. Abr.* 9:5–6; 2 *Bar* 28:2; and discussion in Lichtenberger 1999.

78 The author of Jubilees stresses this sevenfold period of time, saying: ‘And during the first week of the first jubilee Adam and his wife had been in the garden of Eden for seven years tilling and guarding it ... At the end of the seven years which he completed there, *seven years exactly*, in the second month on the seventeenth day, the serpent came and drew near to the woman’ (*Jub.* 3:15, 17).

and pass away [and] a new heaven shall appear, and all the powers of heaven shall shine forever sevenfold' (1 *En.* 91:16); or in the example presented by Clark, the Egyptians are drowned in the sea even as Israel is rescued through it (Wis 11:1–19:22).⁷⁹ This last example, in particular, focuses on the fact that reversals after seventh units in Jewish tradition had a range of outcomes, whether good or ill, salvation or destruction, vindication or condemnation.

6.2.4 *Heptads in the Johannine Apocalypse*

The Apocalypse of John seems to grandstand most (if not all) of the ethnopoetic uses of the number seven. As G. K. Beale observes, besides symbolic uses of other numbers like four and twelve, the author's deployment of the heptad is preeminent. His usage is both overt and covert, cardinal and ordinal, structural, serialized and compounded.⁸⁰ Furthermore, and somewhat remarkably, every seventh unit of every major structural heptad in the Apocalypse (i.e., letters, seals, trumpets, bowls) is followed by a scene or group of scenes that feature visions of the future, theophanies, dramatic reversals and/or nods toward the events and/or time of eschatological fulfillment.⁸¹ Typically, a coagulation of several of these elements occurs. The systematization of this feature can be seen in the frequent recurrence of the theme of 'openings' in heaven at the beginning and/or within the interludes following a seventh unit: of a door (4:1), God's temple (11:19), the tabernacle of the Testimony (15:5), and of heaven itself (19:11). This systematization can also be seen, even more clearly, in the formulaic repetition—after each seventh element and prior to the onset of the next heptad—of the theophanic or 'throne-room' formula: 'From the throne room came flashes of lightning, rumblings, and peals of thunder',⁸² which is then followed by a variety of visions, signs, and eschatological judgment-warnings. The fact that this basic formula is incrementally intensified with each recurrence adds to this sense of meticulous intentionality and eschatological purposefulness.⁸³ It also comports, in a highly sophisticated way, with the insight derived from oral traditional studies that number-patterns are frequently designed to influence hearers 'sense of time, of suspense and expectation'. The escalating series of heptads in the Apocalypse is a bright paragon of this rhetorical effect.

79 Clark 1983, 203. For more examples, see 1 Sam 16:10–13; *Sib.Or.* 3:275–290; Lev 25:10.

80 See Beale 1999, 60–61 for an exhaustive list of examples.

81 Cf. 4:1–5:14; 8:1–6; 11:15–16:1; 16:17–22:5.

82 4:5; cf. 8:5; 11:19; 16:18.

83 4:4 has three elements; 8:5 has four elements; 11:19 has five elements; and 16:18–21, the final and climactic occurrence, has ten elements.

It is appropriate to point out at this juncture that what makes this use of heptads in the Apocalypse significant for the present enquiry is the Johannine relationship between the Apocalypse and the FG.⁸⁴ It is quite natural to infer that if the author of the Apocalypse was predisposed towards using heptads to organize his work, the author of the FG may have been likewise predisposed. Brown has strongly cautioned against this inference on the basis that the evangelist 'never once gives the slightest indication that he had such numerical patterns in mind and never uses the word seven (contrast Revelation)'.⁸⁵ Besides being inaccurate,⁸⁶ the lack of explicitness is an objection I have already dispatched. It may certainly be taken as significant, therefore, that the FG shows just as much of an attraction to covert heptads as the Apocalypse to overt heptads, a preponderance that can hardly be coincidental.⁸⁷

Further, we may also take the renewed suspicion among some, and examination among others, that the FG and Revelation are more closely related than previously thought—and perhaps compositionally related, as Austin Farrer contested⁸⁸—as significant. As Christopher Rowland has recently said in response to the second edition of John Ashton's magisterial *Understanding the Fourth Gospel* (2007), and especially in response to Ashton's thesis that the FG is an 'apocalypse in reverse': '[O]nce one has found the apocalyptic key to the Gospel of John, there is the crucial Johannine question about the relationship to the revelatory text in the New Testament, the Apocalypse'.⁸⁹ Warren Gage has undertaken a comprehensive comparison of the potential links between

84 The authorship of these two works is still hotly disputed. The consanguinity between them, however, is self-evident. Both are a product of a Johannine or—at the bare minimum—Johannine-influenced community.

85 Brown 1966, cxlii. Also Bultmann 1971, 112 n. 3.

86 Because the number seven is used at least once in the FG (in 4:52), an occurrence Brown later acknowledges in the course of commenting on this passage (see 1, 191).

87 See the flood of covert heptads in the FG listed Daise 2007, 32–3. Also see those mentioned or discussed in Bauckham 2004, 12, 219; Williams 1998b, 237–8. Many of these will be mentioned in the course of the discussion on the macrostructural heptads below. (Several scholars have argued that the FG also manifests a fascination with numbers other than the number seven, and even uses numerological schemes in some very subtle and structural ways. See especially the discussions with reference to gematria and/or word (or syllable) counting in Menken 1985, 4–16; Bauckham 2007, 271–84; and to a lesser extent Lincoln 2005, 513.)

88 Farrer 1963, 22–35.

89 In the forward of Ashton 2007, viii, emphasis original. Also note Dodd's comment with regard to the Word becoming *flesh*: 'Whatever else, therefore, the gospel story is to be, it is to be a realized apocalypse' (Dodd 1953, 294).

these two books and concluded with Farrer that John and Revelation are companion pieces that form an elaborate literary diptych.⁹⁰

It is not my purpose in this study to examine this relationship in any detail. It certainly is within my interest, however, to point out the remarkable alignment between the Apocalypse's overt use of structural heptads and the proposed covert heptads in the FG. If my proposal is found credible, it will be seen that, at least in conventional terms, it is not just the Apocalypse that grandstands the ethnopoetic uses of the number seven witnessed in Jewish tradition; the FG does so as well. The primary difference between the FG and Apocalypse's use of structural heptads, it will be seen, is an overt/covert antithesis, a difference that may be explained by appeal to genre: while the Book of Revelation is a full-blown apocalypse, and thus tends to wear its symbols and structures inside-out, the FG is merely influenced by apocalyptic, and thus tends to wear its symbols and structures outside-in. Appropriately, therefore, whereas the Apocalypse marshals structural heptads explicitly, the FG marshals them implicitly.

6.3 Heptads in the Fourth Gospel

I may now begin to draw the various strands of the argument together. Perhaps the best way to do this is simply to show how each proposed heptad not only 'works' as one reads the FG from a literary or exegetical perspective, but also works in strong accord with the general and specific insights just outlined. I will take each section in turn.

6.3.1 *Seven Days (1:1–2:11)*⁹¹

In contrast to the indefinite temporal marker at 2:12,⁹² and the majority of similarly indefinite markers that follow,⁹³ the first major act of the FG is bound

90 In particular, argues Gage, whereas the FG views heavenly events from an earthly perspective, the Apocalypse views earthly events from a heavenly perspective; the former focuses on the bridegroom who begins his ministry attending a wedding before entering a temple, and the latter focuses on the betrothed who will end her ministry attending her own wedding before entering the Temple of heaven itself. See Gage 2001. Also see the recent essays by Ian Boxall and Jörg Frey with reference to this subject in Williams and Rowland 2013.

91 For the many arguments for and against seeing a seven-day schema here, see the references in Moloney 1993, 54 n. 3.

92 ἐκεῖ ἔμειναν οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας. Tenney concludes, 'In 2:12 the phrase "after this" introduces a new chronological division' (Tenney 1948, 43).

93 E.g., 3:22; 5:1; 6:1.

together by the use of definite temporal markers. The tempo of the narrative after the epic prologue is explicitly quotidian. This is marked by the thrice repeating time indicator $\tau\eta\ \epsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ (1:29, 35, 43), a repetition that is interrupted only at 2:1 by the conjunctive time indicator $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\eta\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\ \tau\eta\ \tau\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\eta$.⁹⁴ Scholars have disputed the significance of these phrases, but, as Brodie points out, 'One could scarcely ask for a clearer literary clue to the text's structure . . . The repetitive phrases ("The next day . . .") are placed in the most conspicuous positions possible—at the very beginning of a series of successive episodes. To ignore or dismiss them is like driving along the highway and trying to find one's bearings on the basis of everything except the road signs'.⁹⁵ This is doubly true in light of what is being learned about the embedded mnemonics and rhetorical devices of ancient texts: such markers and, indeed, demarcated Aristotelian 'periods' like these would have been meaningful to performers and receivers.⁹⁶ By the repetition of successive 'next day' markers, one would be prompted to count to four (understanding v. 29, of course, to signal the second day, the events preceding it comprising the first). By the intrusion of the interruptive yet conjunctive 'on the third day' marker one would be prompted to add four to three. In this way a heptadic number-pattern ($4+3=7$) would be easily remembered by performers and conceptualized by audiences. As has been long observed, the prologue itself, beginning as it does with the phrase $\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta\eta$, foregrounds the temporal dimension of this section of the narrative in a way that is strongly reminiscent of the first seven days of creation. Interestingly, the basic numeric structure in Gen 1:1–2:3 as a series of repetitions ('the first day', 'the second day', 'the third day' . . .) broken only by the final unit (. . . 'By the seventh day') is paralleled by the structure in John 1:1–2:11,⁹⁷ suggesting not necessarily literary dependence so much as the use of a similar traditional and/or conventional heptadic structure along the lines demonstrated above.

However, as 'the difficulty of basing a convincing chronology of events upon this datum is notorious',⁹⁸ a few problems must be addressed.

94 The conjunction $\kappa\alpha\iota$ plus $\epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron$. . . has the sense of '*and it came about . . . that*' (SLNT, 3323), drawing a strong connection between present events and what has preceded.

95 Brodie 1993, 130.

96 On 'Aristotelian periods', see again n. 54 above. One also can imagine, though not prove, a performer offering a pregnant pause of three to five seconds combined perhaps with a transitional gesture, nod, or movement across the stage at the completion of one day and prior to another. Such demarcations of structure are common in oral performances. See again p. 75 above.

97 See Brodie 1993, 131.

98 Dodd 1953, 300.

In the first place, some wonder whether v. 39, ‘and they spent that day with him’, is intended to be counted as another day. My own conclusion is that it does not. The *ἔμειναν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην* of v. 39 does not coincide with or break the *τῇ ἐπαύριον* pattern developed in vv. 29, 35 and continued in v. 43. This is no small matter from an aural perspective, as the repetition would have served as a structural cue. Additionally, the tendency on the part of translators to provide the subordinating conjunction ‘for’ to join *τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην* to *ὥρα ἦν ὡς δεκάτη* (KJV, NAS, and RSV) is misleading. It gives the impression that ‘*since* it was the tenth hour (i.e. already late when the disciples met Jesus), they stayed the rest of that day with him (i.e., that evening and night)’. There is, however, no conjunction in the Greek, and the relationship between these two clauses is unclear.⁹⁹ It is just as feasible that the text means: ‘The disciples spent that day with Jesus and then [found that] it was the tenth hour’. At the tenth hour, while daylight was perhaps waning, but on that same day, Andrew immediately goes and finds his brother Peter (v. 41).¹⁰⁰ The strength of this latter reading is certified by the majority reading for *πρῶτον* in v. 41, which within context may be translated either as ‘The first thing Andrew did was to find his brother’ (NIV) or, more idiomatically, ‘Right after that, Andrew found his brother’ (MIT). The events of Andrew spending the day with Jesus (v. 39) and then hurrying to find his brother (v. 41) are therefore closely connected and constitute one episode, the activity of one day. The immediate reemergence of the *τῇ ἐπαύριον* formula in v. 43, which begins a new episode, seems to confirm this reading.

Another issue lies in how to reckon the time indicator at 2:1, whether inclusively or exclusively. As is apparent, my interpretation of a seven-day scheme does not grant the necessity of an inclusive reckoning of days at 2:1, reading ‘on the third day’ to mean that only two days have passed since the last narrated day. This is, of course, a possible reckoning (though by no means a defeater for the idea of a seven-day scheme),¹⁰¹ but not the only possible reckoning. Both inclusive and exclusive methods of time-reckoning existed in this era and

99 As represented in the NIV, which simply sets the clauses in apposition: ‘They spent that day with him. It was about four in the afternoon.’

100 We are told that the disciples go and spend that ‘day’ with him, which may in most general terms simply mean ‘the time of brightness, of (sun)light in contrast to the night’ (see EDNT 2331). Certainly, if modern parlance may be taken analogously, the statement that Jack spent the day with Jill does not mean that Jack did nothing further that day. Additionally, based on an average of twelve hours of light (cf. John 11:9), Andrew would still presumably have had plenty of time (from the tenth hour on) to fetch Peter and introduce him to Jesus before the ‘day’ was over.

101 I will clarify this point momentarily.

were used inconsistently. Further, as is becoming increasingly recognized by ancient historians, time was not thought of or charted in the first century in scientifically precise fashion, as it tends to be today. Thus, caution is necessary and allowances must be made when it comes to arguments for symbolically ordered time schemes. An author deploying a traditional number-pattern around a series of days in the context of performance (and later in writing) may not be as sensitive to the nuances of calculating temporal possibilities that we may be sensitive to while engaged in close-up readings of texts.¹⁰² Thus, even if there is some confusion in the text as to how to 'count up' the days, either because of v. 39 or variant ways of calculating time at 2:1 or elsewhere, it is probable that early listeners would have found a way to count exactly seven days. This is doubly true in light of generative power inherent in the FE's decision to open his Gospel as a resonance of the first seven days of creation. Such keying to common frames of reference are instances of overcoding that would have all but certainly predisposed informed listeners to look for and, inevitably find, a group of seven days once the days began to be sounded.¹⁰³ For the uninformed or confused, there was still the performance environment: false conclusions or counting could be corrected on the spot; either that or the keys for listening could even have been made known to audiences ahead of time.¹⁰⁴

It could still be objected that, even if v. 39 is not to be thought of as another day, and even if an exclusive reckoning of time is granted for 2:1, adding four to three in order to arrive at a seven-day schema in John 1:1–2:11 is a fit of fancy. Several scholars disinclined to symbolic interpretations have argued along these lines, suggesting that the FE's 'on the third day' is something of a historiographical travelogue note, indicating the time it would have taken Jesus to travel from somewhere.¹⁰⁵ These sorts of arguments, however, can hardly satisfy.

102 As John Court notes in *Reading the New Testament* (1997), among a host of problems that the historian will encounter in attempting to chart time in the first-century world, 'there is an obvious difference between the inclusive and exclusive methods of reckoning intervals of time. . . . All these factors must create a degree of imprecision for the historian of today. . . . The moral is that we need to be hyper-cautious about conclusions from any ancient historical evidence, sacred or secular. Allowances must be made for the problems of chronology, and perhaps even more so for the interpretation of events in all kinds of meaningful and symbolic ways, and overall for the essentially ideological motivations for history-writing in the ancient world (in contrast to the scientific controls on modern historiography)' (Court 2012, 11–12).

103 So Carson 1991, 168.

104 See again discussion on pp. 73–76 above.

105 See, e.g., the comments in Westcott 1881, 36; Hendriksen 1961, 113; Brown 1966, 1:97; Bruce 1983, 68.

In the first instance, in the scene immediately prior to his attendance at the wedding ἐν Κανὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, the FE tells us that Jesus goes¹⁰⁶ into ‘Galilee’ where he acquires Nathanael (1:43–45), whom we later learn is ἀπὸ Κανὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας (21:2). This makes it likely that Jesus was already in, or at least very near to, Cana when we are informed of his attendance at the wedding on the third day. If the temporal marker in 2:1 is meant to be a travelogue notation, therefore, it is either not very meaningful or not very clear. Because from where, exactly, did Jesus travel that it took him two to three days? Certainly not from Cana to Cana. That journey will not be completed until 4:46! Commentators have speculated on some more realistic options, but it must be confessed that the emphasis of the text is not on whence Jesus has travelled. As with the markers in 1:29, 35, and 43, the dative of time in 2:1 designates a specific point in time, an answer to the question of when.¹⁰⁷ This suggests that the correct question to be asking is not from where does Jesus arrive at Cana of Galilee on the third day but from when? The most natural answer to this temporal question is a temporal answer: from the last day just narrated—i.e. three days after the fourth day of 1:43,¹⁰⁸ causing us to arrive at 2:1 by exclusive reckoning (4+3) on the seventh day.¹⁰⁹

But what of the charge that imagining a 4+3=7 number scheme is overly fanciful? To this potential objection I can only reply that, if adding four to three to get seven is a fit of fancy, it is certainly not a new one. According to Philo, the number seven is uniquely beautiful and praiseworthy precisely because it ‘consists of three and four’ (*Opif.* 1:97); gloriously, he continues, when these numbers are ‘combined, the number seven is made up’ (1:102). The reality can be seen right before us in the ‘organic body’: ‘[E]very organic body has three

106 Or ‘wished to go’ ἠθέλησεν ἐξελθεῖν, but see MIT.

107 See GGBB, 156.

108 This point is frequently granted, even if other conclusions are adopted. See, e.g., Westcott 1881, 36; Hoskyns 1947, 186; Hendriksen 1961, 113.

109 It is important to stress that this interpretation of a seven-day schema is not intended to promote a crassly literal reading of temporal events in the opening section of the narrative, as though the FE is simply informing his readers/hearers that this stage in Jesus’ ministry took one literal chronological week to complete. The notion that the FE is concerned with organizing his narrative according to an absolute chronological timeframe has been convincingly refuted by Douglas Estes (2008). Absolute chronologies are modernistic constructs influenced by Newtonian physics. Ancient historiographical narratives were—to put it anachronistically—far more Einsteinian than Newtonian in their thinking about time; and thus, authors were at liberty to bound, twist, warp, and multiply dimensions of their narrative’s temporal landscapes in order to concentrate on illuminating the complex meaning(s) of time within time (Estes 2008, Chapters 1–3; cf. Rensberger 2010).

dimensions, length, depth, and breadth; and four boundaries, the point, the line, the superficies, and the solid; and by these, when combined, the number seven is made up' (1:102). Furthermore, the author of *1 Enoch* appears to show a fascination with these two numbers. In the course of his astronomical-calendrical visions, he notes that annual time is divided by four seasons, as represented by four personified leaders, and that these four seasons/leaders are themselves led by another three leaders, who are apparently the luminaries of sun, moon, and stars.¹¹⁰ Each of the personified seasons of the year are said to reign for 91 days. Hence, $91+91+91+91=354$ (=52 'weeks'). Thus, the quartette of Seasons effected by the tripartite movements of Sun, Moon, and Stars unite seasonal and meteorological phenomena into another set of seven ($4+3=7$) in a calendrical system that is perfectly organized by the sevenfold.¹¹¹ Even more significant than Philo or Enoch's use of a $4+3$ schema is the author of Revelation's use of it—and specifically with his structural heptads. As Beale notes while summarizing Bauckham, all of the judgments of seals, trumpets, and bowls are divided into a $4+3$ schema, the first four judgments being unleashed upon the earth, the next three judgments or revelations taking place elsewhere.¹¹² Thus, it must be granted that a $4+3=7$ number-pattern joining John 1:1–2:11 into a coherently framed unit is certainly not implausible.

What may push my argument for this number-pattern from being plausible to probable, however, is the way in which this pattern coincides with the common characteristics of Jewish number-patterns mentioned above. Indeed, it is not too difficult to discern how, in conjunction with the prologue, the onset and succession of days influences one's sense 'of time, of suspense, and expectation' up to a climactic point, and specifically up to a dramatic turning point of eschatological and theophanic significance. Major commentators recognize the unity, introductory nature, and progressive movement of 1:1–2:11 in its present form, even as they recognize the capping, climaxing, and transitional nature of 2:1–11.¹¹³ Few outlines of this first major act in the FG bring

110 'And these are the names of the leaders which divide the four seasons of the years which are fixed: Malki'elm, Hela'emmemelekm, Milay'ul, and Narel. The names of those who lead them are Adnar'ul, Iyasus-e, Elum'el—these three follow the leaders of the orders . . .' (*1 En.* 82:13–14).

111 The rabbis also apparently appreciated this method of arriving at the sevenfold. See again n. 69 above.

112 Beale 1999, 60.

113 As Lindars well represents, 'The Gospel opens with an episodic narrative, woven together by the mention of successive days (1:29, 35, 39, 43, 2:1). It builds to a climax, expressed in the statement that Jesus 'manifested his glory' (2:11)' (Lindars 1972, 76).

out the driving theme of revelation better than John Ashton, who looks at it from the perspective of the putative 'Signs Source'. Building on Dodd, Ashton claims that this first act of the FG, even in its final form,¹¹⁴ may be thought of in thematic terms as constituting a dynamic triptych that culminates specifically in Jesus' first act of revelation—an act memorably described by Bultmann as 'The Miracle of the Epiphany'.¹¹⁵ Hence the whole section steps forward, in Ashton's estimation, as 'The Testament' (1:1–34), 'The Recognition' (1:35–51), and 'The Revelation' (2:1–11).¹¹⁶ Surely Ashton is right about this, as we may briefly attempt to demonstrate.

In 'The Testament' (1:1–34), the omniscient narrator, Johannine community, and John the Baptist testify about the basic identity of Jesus. Central to what is testified in the prologue is an emphasis on Jesus as the very self-expression of God's person: as 'word', 'light', wisdom, 'glory', greater than the Law of Moses, and the one who has 'made God known', Jesus is indeed the Revealer of God *par excellence*. Central to the Baptist's testimony is that the one who strangely 'comes after him yet was before him' (v. 15; cf. 30) is the *telos* of Israel's eschatological hopes. He is the long-awaited Messiah, Elijah, Prophet, liberator envisioned by Isaiah, and bringer of the Spirit. In short, the depiction of the coming Jesus in 'The Testimony' has clearly been designed to arouse not a little suspense and expectation.¹¹⁷

As 'The Testament' panel gives way to 'The Recognition' (1:35–51), this suspense and expectation is not alleviated but heightened. For when Jesus enters the scene, this eschatological apogee who has come from eternity past to reveal God and display glory reveals nothing and does virtually nothing! He is simply present to be recognized; 'there to be found if only we care to look for him'.¹¹⁸ John has already found him on the second day while still testifying about him (vv. 29–34), John's two disciples along with Peter then find him on the third day (vv. 35–42), and lastly, after anomalously finding Philip,¹¹⁹ he is found by Nathanael on the fourth day (vv. 43–51). Jesus' passivity with reference to his identity as the Revealer is made all the more striking when it is seen that one of the most prominent things Jesus does do, both at the beginning and the end of these 'Recognition' scenes, is to acknowledge the delay of his revealing activity! Instead of revealing, he promises moments of revelation yet to

114 Ashton 2007, 156.

115 Bultmann 1971, 113.

116 Ashton 2007, 156–78; cf. Dodd 1953, 292–6.

117 Cf. also Stibbe 1994, 12–15, and the suspense created by the 'elusiveness' of Jesus.

118 Ashton 2007, 169; Talbert 2005, 86.

119 Talbert 2005, 86; Ashton 2007, 169.

come. 'Come', Jesus says when his first two disciples have recognized and followed him, and 'you will see' (ἔρχεσθε καὶ ὄψεσθε). This is clearly one of those epigrammatic statements of Jesus that, just like Jesus' first question (τί ζητεῖτε) and the disciples' first response (ποῦ μένεις), can be heard literally and as invoking deeper meanings.¹²⁰

This subtle promise of revelation at the beginning of this second panel is flanked by another—and far more obvious—promise of revelation at the end, indicating the deliberate escalation and dramatization of this theme. Nathanael, both an individual and representative of all true Israelites who will follow Jesus,¹²¹ has just seen—though once again in a limited way¹²²—the truth of who Jesus is: he is the 'Son of God' and 'King of Israel' (v. 49). Consequently, because Jesus, as we the audience have already learned, is far greater than Nathanael's understanding of him, Jesus promises Nathanael that he, and by extension all Israel with him, 'will see greater things than these' (μείζω τούτων ὅψῃ v. 50). Indeed, they 'will see heaven open and the angels of God ascending and descending on the Son of Man' (v. 51). All the language and figures used here—of 'greater things', an 'open heaven', 'angels of God ascending and descending', and 'Son of Man'—underscore the extraordinary moment of revelation, if not full-blown apocalypse, at hand. This is true because all of this language, not to mention the allusion to Jacob's vision at Bethel, is thoroughly rooted either in apocalyptic texts and/or the experience and expectation of revelatory moments.¹²³

120 See Culpepper 1983, 108; Stibbe 1994, 15. The sense implicit in the conditional imperative in v. 39 is 'If you come, you *will* see' (GGBB, 4900–1). The reason further revelation is necessary, of course, as readers of the prologue will no doubt divine, is because the disciples' first assessments of Jesus' person are far too limited. As Moloney discerns, the disciples now 'see' Jesus before them, as rabbi and teacher; but they will at a future time learn to 'see' him much more clearly, as Lord and God. See Moloney 1993, 67–76.

121 Lincoln 2005, 120.

122 Moloney 1993, 72–3.

123 Cf., e.g., Gen 28:10–17; Ezek 1:1, 2:1, 3–5; Rev 4:1; 11:19; 15:5; 19:11–22:6; Bar 21:1–2, 22:1; *T.Lev.* 2:6–7; *T.Abr.* 7:3. The promise of seeing 'greater things' (μείζω τούτων) may also have been a signal for the FE's original audiences to be attentive to the presence of covertly deployed heptadic number-patterns. This follows from the rather remarkable fact that the very few times this seemingly formulaic expression μείζω τούτων is used in conjunction with seeing or hearing in the literature still available to us (all apocalyptically oriented), it is used in the context of, and/or as segues to, series of exactly seven unnumbered visions or other implicit sets of seven. In Ezekiel, for example, the prophet is given a vision of detestable practices in the Temple; he is then told that he will see abominations even greater than these (μείζονα τούτων) (Ezek 8:15). What follows is Ezekiel's vision of men bowing down to the sun in the east and the Lord's determination to punish them.

Appropriately, then, as days one through six give way to day seven, Jesus climactically engages in his first act of revelation. Everything we have thus far learned about number-patterns in oral traditions has conditioned us to expect this sort of capping and climax at the final unit. Everything we have thus far learned about the more idiosyncratic use of heptads in Jewish tradition has also prepared us for the eschatological and theophanic overtones that clearly characterize this action of Jesus on this seventh day.¹²⁴ The fact that the narrative up to this point has also evinced a compounding of heptads—in the seven individual characters who took to the stage during ‘The Recognition’,¹²⁵ the seven exalted titles used for Jesus,¹²⁶ and now in a wedding event that would have been understood as transpiring over a period of exactly seven days¹²⁷—seems to confirm the pattern. Finally, the aura of eschatological realization (wedding banquet; extravagant production of wine) combined with a note of delay (‘my hour has not yet come’) is enticing in light of the same interplay of themes in the midst of the Apocalypse’s heptadic patterning.¹²⁸

In sum, there is sufficient reason to affirm that 1:1–2:11 has been constructed by the FE in dynamic accord with traditional numeric conventions. The FE’s macrosegmental serialization of heptads in what follows, commencing first with a block of seven signs, reinforces this conclusion.

Intriguingly, Ezekiel then sees exactly six men brandishing weapons plus another ‘man clothed in linen’ (hence, 6+1) entering the Temple and standing by the bronze altar (9:2b). It is these seven figures who are then commissioned to, in effect, distinguish between the righteous and unrighteous, either by granting them a mark (the man in linen) or slaying them (the warriors). In a similar vein, in response to Abraham’s prayer that God ‘reveal himself by himself to us!’ (ApocAbr 7:12), God tells Abraham that he will indeed ‘see great things’—a promise that is fulfilled in the reception of seven heavenly visions. This same dynamic appears in 4 *Ezra*, where Salathiel is promised not once but twice that if he fasts for seven days (5:13, 19, 20, 21; 6:31, 35), he will ‘hear greater things’ than he already has heard (5:13; 6:31). Seven visions are then heard.

124 For the unmistakably eschatological signaling of this sign, see Koester 1995, 79. For Jesus ‘glory’ as theophany, see Bultmann, 67–8 n. 2. Koester helpfully explains that although ‘Greeks would not immediately have grasped the messianic significance of the sign . . . they would readily have understood that the miraculous gift of wine revealed the presence of deity’ (1995, 80; but see 80–2).

125 John, Jesus, the unnamed disciple, Andrew, Simon/Peter, Philip, and Nathanael.

126 Lamb of God (29), God’s Elect/Chosen One (34), Rabbi (38), Messiah (41), Son of God (49a), King of Israel (49b), and Son of Man (51).

127 Brown 1966, 1:98.

128 See Bauckham 1993, 40–1.

6.3.2 *Seven Signs (chs. 2–12)*

The notion that the next major act in the FE's narrative constitutes a 'Book of Signs', wherein a collection of signs has been artfully interwoven with more and less related discourses (perhaps even seven of them), has been sufficiently established and need not be argued in this study. The claim that this central block of narrative comprises *exactly* seven signs, however, does require argumentation. The principal evidence for this schema resides in the fact that the audience is prompted to count to seven 'signs' as instigated by the explicit enumeration of the first two,¹²⁹ the clear identification of four more¹³⁰ and the standout nature of the boat incident in 6:16–21. Four main objections have been levelled against this hypothesis: (i) most seriously, the boat incident of 6:16–21 should not be considered a sign because, besides the possibility that Jesus was only walking 'beside' instead of 'on' the water,¹³¹ and besides some doubt 'that the boat was miraculously whisked' across the lake,¹³² too many differences between this event and the other signs are evident;¹³³ (ii) more than seven signs are alluded to in chapters 2–12, as can be seen in references like 2:23, 3:2 and others;¹³⁴ (iii) while it is true that 12:37 seems to draw the 'Book of Signs' to a close, 20:31 also refers to signs, and does so immediately on the heels of Jesus' self-revelation to Thomas and, in John 21, prior to the miraculous catch of one-hundred and fifty-three fish, suggesting that several other events outside of chapters 2–12 should be thought of as signs; (iv) while this section of the FG certainly displays successive signs, the primary organization lies not in the signs but in the geographical journey and/or festival motifs; counting signs for architectonic purposes, therefore, is to miss the point.

In response to these objections, I offer the following counter-arguments. (i) With reference to the boat incident, contextual matters suggest ἐπὶ is not likely to be understood as 'beside' instead of 'on', and it is not clear that the sudden teleportation of the disciples' boat warrants complete doubt. In the first place, parallel stories of Jesus' water-walking in the Synoptics, the use of the middle participle 'drawing near' with Jesus as subject and the boat as object, the disciples' fear, and Jesus' divine self-revelation (absolute ἐγώ εἰμι) within this event, all strongly militate against reading this story as anything other

129 2:11; 4:54.

130 Cf. 6:14, 26; 9:16; 11:47; 12:18, as identified by Schnackenburg 1968, 516.

131 The preposition ἐπὶ can mean either 'beside' or 'on'.

132 Koester 1995, 93.

133 So Smalley 1978, 86–7.

134 6:2; 7:31; 9:16; 11:47; 12:37.

than a water-walking or sea-crossing theophany.¹³⁵ Furthermore, although it is certainly possible that the disciples' three to four mile row had brought them close to their destination in Capernaum,¹³⁶ the FE's notation that the disciples immediately (εὐθέως, v. 21) arrived in Capernaum once Jesus entered the boat seems best explained as an indication of the miraculous. It is otherwise difficult to understand the rhetorical function of this very well attested adverb.¹³⁷ Potential links to texts or memories like those commemorated in Psalm 107 must also not be overlooked. It is probably more than a coincidence that the storm-battered and frightened disciples are now rescued by Yahweh who 'brings[s] them to their desired haven'.¹³⁸ Evoking the saving power of Yahweh on behalf of Israel in this deed of 'I AM' with his disciples would certainly not be beyond the FE's theological purview. Such a display of power in the midst of threatening waters also fits in perfectly within the grander exodus and Mosaic overtones that characterize this portion of the FE's narrative.¹³⁹

135 In other words: (a) The fact that there are Synoptic accounts of storms on seas that clearly have Jesus walking on the sea (Matt 14:22–33; Mark 6:47–51) make it highly probable that John was retelling the same sort of traditional miracle story. (b) 'The difference between the active and middle is one of emphasis. The active voice emphasizes the *action* of the verb; the middle emphasizes the *actor* [subject] of the verb' (GGBB, 415). Hence, the grammatical construction suggests that it is *Jesus* who is drawing near to the boat (still on the lake), not the *boat* that is drawing near to Jesus (still on the shore). (c) The disciples fear is quite incomprehensible if Jesus was just on the shore. What would they have been afraid of? (d) Likewise, Jesus divine revelation and assuaging of the disciples fear is curious if he were merely perambulating on the land. See the excellent discussion of this sign in Koester 1995, 92–4.

136 This depends entirely, of course, from where on the other side of the sea they had departed. Modern maps show that the journey could have been anywhere from four to eleven miles. Our problem is that the FE gives us no clue whence the disciples departed.

137 Εὐθέως is attested in all the earliest manuscripts (see comment under John 6:21 in CNTTS NT). Barrett asserts, 'The simplest way of taking the sentence is, "They wished to take him into the boat, but (adversative use of καί, as often in John . . .) found immediately that they had reached the shore". . . . These words may be regarded as confirmatory: the disciples were closer than they had thought. But it is more probable that John is recording a second miracle' (234).

138 Cf. John 6:18 with Ps 107:25–26a, 29; John 6:19 with Ps 107:26b–28; John 6:21 with Ps 107:30. It is also of interest that the seafaring deliverance in Psalm 107 is deemed a 'wonderful deed' (τὰ θαυμάσια); this phrase is used only once in the NT, by Matthew, in reference to the miraculous deeds of Jesus (Matt 21:15). A link to this Psalm is also established by Morris 1971, 351 and Barrett 1955, 234.

139 See discussion on pp. 231–236 below.

Granting the miraculous nature of this scene, therefore, I note that the real difficulty in attempting to assign John 6:16–21 a ‘sign’ status lies in the uncertain criteria for the Johannine signs as a whole. If defined without qualification, as narrated events that display the miraculous, as most scholars will begin to define the Johannine signs, then the sign status of this event is self-evident.¹⁴⁰ But if one then adds that these miraculous events must also be explicitly material in nature on the basis of the FE’s incarnational theology, as Smalley and Schnackenburg avow, the status of this miracle might be called into question.¹⁴¹ Likewise, if one further demands signs to be public events that evince plain connections with the discourses, this sign may once again be up for grabs, because while Jesus will discourse on the public ‘bread’ event, no mention is made of this ‘private’ miracle before the disciples. It must be rejoined, however, that demanding a plain connection between signs and discourses is dubious, as the FE tends to deal in subtle connections, as the first sign and discourse make sufficiently clear.¹⁴² Further, both Westcott and Morris make good cases for the organic connection between the fourth and fifth signs and following discourses.¹⁴³ Similarly, supposing that early audiences would not have numbered this scene as another sign on the basis that Jesus performed it in private rather than in public is dubious. Would original hearers in the midst of live performances or later readers really have been saying to themselves, ‘Oh, this miracle was not done in public; therefore it must not be a sign’? Instead, as a distillation of Schnackenburg’s fine essay on the Johannine

140 E.g., Schnackenburg 1968, 515: The signs are ‘the major miracles which are not merely mentioned but described in some detail’ (516). Also D. Moody Smith 1999, 130.

141 ‘God took a fact of material existence (flesh) and expressed himself by means of it. . . . The incarnation forms the basis of all the signs; just as flesh has now become the carrier of spirit, so bread (for example) can convey life’ (Smalley 1978, 87). Cf. Schnackenburg 1968, 520. I say ‘might’ be called into question here because it is not entirely clear that this sign would *not* have been understood in a material sense. In the first place, Jesus’ action certainly *is* material insofar as it perspicuously manifests Jesus’ divine and supernatural *power* over the material world. God alone in Jewish tradition can tread upon the stormy waters. God alone guides Israel through stormy seas to their desired haven (cf. Ps 107:23–32). It is also fully possible that the hard-rowing disciples took Jesus’ action as a wonderful *material* blessing! After all, what fisherman in the first century would not be grateful for a speedy lift across the sea instead of needing to keep up the task of rowing against water and wind in a storm. Westcott was certainly sympathetic to this position. See Westcott 1881, 99.

142 Almost all scholars agree that there is a connection between the first sign and Jesus’ action in the temple, albeit this connection is semantically and thematically subtle.

143 See Westcott 1881, 99; Morris 1971, 348 n. 34; also Dodd 1953, 344–5.

signs shows, the basic fact is that, in addition to being miraculous deeds, the Johannine signs are fundamentally christological, theophanic, eschatological, and testimonial.¹⁴⁴ The upshot of this delineation is that, as Lincoln decisively shows, John 6:16–21 displays all of these characteristics.¹⁴⁵ It is perhaps for this reason that Schnackenburg himself, despite differentiating this event from the other six signs, nonetheless calls it a ‘sign’: ‘[John] may have considered the walking on the waters’, he says, ‘a special “sign” for the disciples.’¹⁴⁶ Thus, it seems safe to conclude that John 2–12 narrates exactly seven signs.¹⁴⁷

In response to objection (ii), we note that while it is true that more than seven signs are referred to in chapters 2–12, only a limited number of these signs have been selected for narrative re-presentation.¹⁴⁸ There is an insuperable difference between nondescript references to signs and to their extended narrative re-presentation for the purposes of evoking faith.¹⁴⁹

Similarly, in response to (iii), as Lincoln argues on the basis of the relationship between ‘signs’ and ‘works’ in the FG, the reference to signs in 20:30 likely connotes ‘Jesus’ mission as a whole.’¹⁵⁰ More importantly, there is a critical difference between Jesus’ signs in chapters 2–11 and the events of Jesus’ passion, resurrection and its aftermath. This difference lies in the signs’ symbolic configuration on the one hand and the reality of Jesus’ fulfilling work to which they ultimately point on the other.¹⁵¹ Put otherwise, the signs, although imbued with a realized eschatology, are also proleptic of Jesus’ much

144 Schnackenburg 1968, 515–28. That is, they reveal and/or provide: the truth about who Jesus is as the Jewish Messiah and God’s Incarnate Son; the truth about who the Father is as displayed in the ministry of his divine Son; an immediate foretaste of the new age of life that Jesus brings and will bring in climactic fashion on the cross; a witness sufficient to generate or sustain faith in who Jesus truly is—viz. (as 20:30 discloses) ‘that Jesus is the Messiah of Jewish expectations and that he is the sort of Messiah who is Son of God, with all the connotations of a unique divine identity that the latter title has in this Gospel’s discourse . . . [leading to] life in his name’ (Lincoln 2005, 507).

145 Lincoln 2005, 216–21. See also Koester 1995, 92–4.

146 Schnackenburg 1968, 520.

147 This conclusion is made in good company. See Henderson 1936, 35; Tenney 1948, 30–1; Boismard 1951; Brown 1966, CXXXIX; Morris 1971, 65–7; Stibbe 1994, 36; Koester 1995, 74.

148 Water into wine, healing of the nobleman’s son, healing of the invalid, multiplication of bread and fish, water-walking/spatial transience, healing of the blind man, and the revivification of Lazarus (see Brown 1966; Stibbe 1994, 36).

149 See comments in Boismard 1951, 94.

150 Lincoln 2005, 503.

151 All the FE’s references to the fulfilling work of Jesus come at the close and after Jesus’ ministry of ‘signs’ is complete. Cf. 12:38; 13:18; 15:25; 17:12; 18:9, 32; 19:24, 28, 30, 36.

dramatized 'hour', as the first and last signs make unmistakably clear.¹⁵² Even if this argument is rejected, either on the basis of Jesus' answer to the Jew's request for a sign in 2:19,¹⁵³ or in the event that the catch of the 153 fish is determined to be an authenticated Johannine sign,¹⁵⁴ this does not nullify the enduring fact that chapters 2–12 are bound and ordered together as a cohering unit in the FG, and that within this section are exactly seven signs.

Finally, and perhaps with a dose of ingenuity, I must answer objection (iv) and the proposition that the 'Book of Signs' receives its organization not from the signs themselves but from the geographic and/or festival markers. The prominence of both of these features in this second act of the FG is unquestionable, and produces conspicuous journey and liturgical motifs. Whether these motifs are emphatically structural and/or trump the succession of signs as cardinal organizing features of the narrative is less clear. My own view is that whether intentionally structural or more generally thematic, these spatial and liturgical features of the narrative are tightly interwoven with the heptadic sign structuration I have already outlined, designed predominately to draw out further the theological meaning of the signs in conjunction with the discourses. If anything, these elements do not trump the sign structure, but run alongside and reinforce it. Although I do not have the space to defend this hypothesis in any great detail, I may point out the following exegetical observations.

In terms of geographical movement, Jesus may be seen as moving cyclically (though not mechanically) according to a repeating pattern. His ministry of signs begins in Cana of Galilee (2:1), makes way through Capernaum (2:12), and

152 See 2:4; 5:25, 28; 7:30; 8:20; 12:23, 27; 13:1; 16:32; 17:1. An inclusion is formed around the first and last signs, the first within which Jesus exclaims 'My hour has not yet come' (2:4), and the last immediately after which Jesus announces: 'The hour has come' (12:23). It is not just the first and last signs that make this clear. As Murray Rae notes: 'It is characteristic of John's Gospel that the whole narrative builds toward and foreshadows Jesus' "hour." . . . The signs of the Gospel are to be understood in this context as a foreshadowing of this glory and a participation ahead of time in the new life that is to come' (Rae 2008, 303). See also Koester 1995, 77.

153 Jesus' response to the Jews' request for a sign, 'Destroy this temple and I will raise it again in three days', is likely to be taken as an ironic answer. In the first place, the answer is a riddle, neither initially understood by the Jews nor the disciples. This makes it likely that the mention of a 'sign' in this instance is to be heard retrospectively, as it were, in inverted commas. This 'sign' is the thing in itself. In the second instance, even if Jesus' resurrection is a sign, it is not one Jesus in fact does before *these Jews*. All the resurrection appearances in the FG are before the disciples, so it is hard to imagine that this 'sign' is to be counted as a bona fide sign in the FG.

154 So Smalley 1978, 202.

then arrives in Jerusalem, generally (2:13), and the Temple grounds, more specifically (2:14). Jesus is also then said to linger for a time ‘in Judea’ (3:22), but this notation, as a similar one in 7:1, does not meaningfully recur in the narrative and instead appears only to serve as a foil for other purposes. It is not deemed part of the pattern. Notwithstanding these two geographical anomalies that do seem to call the pattern I am proposing into question, it is nevertheless remarkable that Jesus’ initial movement that traverses *Cana/Galilee—Capernaum—Jerusalem—Temple* is essentially repeated in the narrative two times (thus occurring a total of three times) prior to Jesus’ escape ‘beyond the Jordan’ in 10:40 and prior to the commencement of Jesus’ final sign (11:1–54), final trip to Jerusalem (12:12), and final Passover celebration (12:1; 13:1). Indeed, after the initial journey sequence, Jesus once again heads for Galilee by way of Samaria (4:3–4), where he later arrives (4:43) specifically in Cana (4:46)—although the emphasis of the text is on Galilee generally, as the middle and conclusion of the scene make clear (4:47, 54). One may be tempted to argue that a trip to Capernaum is omitted, breaking the journey pattern being proposed, because Jesus next stops in Jerusalem (5:1) then the Temple (5:14). But this is not fully accurate since Capernaum is mentioned as the geographical location of the nobleman’s sick son (4:46), and Jesus—at least insofar as his transcendent power is concerned—is envisaged as making a virtual trip there (just as he will make another space-defying trip to Capernaum later with the disciples over the sea). Thus, once again, a fourfold geographical pattern that moves through *Cana/Galilee—Capernaum—Jerusalem—Temple* is perceptible.¹⁵⁵ The same is true in the remainder of the narrative from 6:1–10:39. Beginning in the vicinity specifically of the Sea of Galilee (6:1) where he feeds the multitudes,¹⁵⁶ the disciples set out for and arrive with Jesus in Capernaum (6:21, 24, 59). After a very brief parenthetical gloss about Jesus walking in Galilee and not Judea because the Jews sought to kill him (7:1), we once again find ourselves with Jesus in

155 This geographical patterning is recognized by Brown (1, 194), although he fails to extend the observation into the next section, probably because Cana is not again explicitly mentioned. It would seem, though, that because the text’s emphasis falls on Jesus’ presence in Galilee generally (after coming from Judea) rather than on Cana per se, the fact that Cana does not again surface is irrelevant to the pattern being detected. It is not Cana, so much, that the FE is interested in, as it is in identifying the Galilean region more generally, before honing in on Capernaum in Galilee more specifically. In my view, the so called ‘Cana-to-Cana’ pattern that comprises the first two signs must be understood more expansively as the ‘*Cana/Galilee—Capernaum—Jerusalem—Temple*’ pattern that comprises all except the seventh, climactic sign.

156 The emphasis is on the Galilean *vicinity*. See comment in Lincoln 2005, 210.

Jerusalem (7:10) and the Temple (7:14). Jesus remains in this vicinity until his pivotal transit to 'beyond the Jordan' in 10:40 (cf. 8:1–2, 59; 10:22–23).

Intriguingly, assuming there is some merit to this proposed geographical pattern, and in order to add merit to this proposal, I note that there is one sign in the first journey cycle, two signs in the second, and three signs in the third, apparently evincing a deliberate escalation of the performative deeds of Jesus as he approaches his seventh and final sign. Further, the first sign is accomplished in Galilee (specifically Cana), the second in Capernaum, and the third in Jerusalem; the fourth is once again set in Galilee (the vicinity generally), the fifth in Capernaum, and the sixth in Jerusalem. The successive signs, in other words, appear to coincide with the overarching geographical patterning of this portion of the narrative. Besides enticing one to search for a more complex parallel structure,¹⁵⁷ this convergence of six signs with only three geographic regions appears to show Jesus' parity with regard to his revelatory activity. He manifests his glory in Galilee (generally), Capernaum (specifically), and Jerusalem equally, yet his reception is unequal, particularly among the ruling Judean elite—i.e. those located in and around the Temple precincts.¹⁵⁸ The irony, of course, could hardly be thicker: the more Jesus reveals himself in Jerusalem to the religious leaders who should know him most (cf. 3:10), doing precisely those miraculous deeds they demand of him (cf. 2:18; 6:30; 12:37), the less he is accepted and the more his life is threatened.¹⁵⁹ 'They have the experience but miss the meaning', as T. S. Eliot might put it. The Jewish feasts—comprised of three Passovers (2:13; 6:4; 12:1), an unnamed

157 An A B C // A' B' C' sign-structure, for example. Initial comparisons seem promising insofar as: (A/A') the first and fourth signs are about the provision of sustenance, first drink, then food; (B/B') the second and fifth signs both deal with Jesus' power to transcend the limitations of space, both in relationship with Capernaum; (C/C') the third and sixth signs both take place on the Sabbath, are physical healings of Jews who have both been unwell for a long time, and generate extended dialogue/debate with hostile Jews; (x) the Lazarus episode stands out on its own, as greater than the others and entirely unique. The parallels are interesting, perhaps, but there is no quick way of proving a deliberate patterning here.

158 The first two signs in Cana and Capernaum produce belief (2:11; 4:53b) but the third, in Jerusalem, incredulity (5:16–47). The responses to the fourth and fifth signs are mixed, although there is an emphasis on the prevailing disbelief of the Jewish ruling elite (6:41; 60–71; 9:13–41; 11:45–53).

159 A similar argument is made by Meeks 1966: 'The geographical symbolism of John is... shaped by the apparently deliberate dialectic between Jerusalem, the place of judgment and reception, and Galilee and Samaria, the places of acceptance and discipleship' (169). See also Smalley 1978, 206–7.

Jewish feast (5:1), Feast of Tabernacles (7:2), and Feast of Dedication (10:22)—only seem to intensify this irony, as many of the celebrants, and chiefly the leaders, once again repudiate the very one whom they above all should recognize as the eschatological fulfillment of all that the feasts signify.

As has been well documented, this irony, rejection, and tragedy come to a sharp point in the Lazarus story, the seventh and final sign of Jesus. This episode is clearly marked off from the preceding six signs and discourses by a break in the geographic patterning and shift in the activity of Jesus, as he now makes his way 'beyond the Jordan' whither his ministry began (10:40; cf. 1:28). The episode is also formally (if not thematically) marked off from what follows in Chapter 12 by a similar geographical marker that places Jesus in the wilderness (11:54). The six signs up to this point in the narrative have either shown Jesus miraculously providing for people or rescuing them from illness or danger. In conjunction with the discourses, these mighty deeds have increasingly led to threats on Jesus' life; these threats, though, have not materialized due to the delay of Jesus' 'hour'. With the Lazarus episode, however, and once again in perfect conformity with Jewish heptadic conventions, a mighty turning point in the narrative is reached, one that is also unambiguously eschatological and theophanic in orientation.¹⁶⁰ Indeed, the seventh sign is the 'mathematical' and 'moral centre' of the FG, 'the highest point and the turning point, *apex* and *vertex*'.¹⁶¹ It is here that Jesus enters the shadow of death as his long-anticipated 'hour' arrives. It is here that Jesus' greatest theophanic action of revealing the glory of God in rising a dead man catalyzes his supreme moment of glorifying God by becoming a dead man.¹⁶² It is here that Jesus' greatest eschatological claim to be ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ ζωὴ (11:25)—the present reality of the ἐσχάτων ἡμέραν (11:24)—is certified in no uncertain terms, even if this certification fails to bring about the faith in him which is its aim.¹⁶³

160 See Bultmann 1971, 395. Also Hoskyns, who observes that this sign is 'not introduced into the narrative causally, but is recorded as the supreme climax of the manifestation of the power of Jesus to the Jews' (Hoskyns 1947, 396). So Brown: 'All Jesus' miracles are signs of what he is and what he has come to give man, but in none of them does the sign more closely approach the reality than in the gift of life. The physical life that Jesus gives to Lazarus is still not in the realm of the life from above, but it is so close to that realm that it may be said to conclude the ministry of signs and inaugurate the ministry of glory. Thus, the raising of Lazarus provides an ideal transition, the last sign in the Book of Signs leading into the Book of Glory' (I, 429).

161 Lincoln 2008, 211 n. 1.

162 See Schnackenburg 1968, 519.

163 Does it also, like the last day/first sign of 2:1–11, occur on the 'third' day (Bultmann 1971, 398), in a way that invites addition to another four, in order to cause the seventh sign

The compounding of heptads within this section also seems to confirm the presence of a traditionally deployed heptad. Indeed, it is somewhat intriguing that, for the one who has been counting, in addition to the heptads mentioned above, most of the narrated signs leading up to this seventh sign *also* appear to play with smaller, non-structural heptads. As may be seen: Jesus turns water into wine on the seventh day; the nobleman's son is healed at the seventh hour; the invalid is healed on the seventh day (the Sabbath); the multitudes are fed with seven morsels of food (five loaves plus two fishes); and the blind man is healed in the course of seven scenes on the seventh day (the Sabbath).¹⁶⁴ In all probability, there are also seven discourses that correspond to the seven signs;¹⁶⁵ seven explicit quotations up to 12:15; even as there are another exactly seven explicit quotations from 12:38 to the end of Chapter 19.¹⁶⁶ One clear indication that these two sets of seven explicit quotations are to be differentiated, and each set found to 'belong' to its own respective macrostructural heptad, is apparent in their overlap in the janus section as well as the unique fulfillment formula attached to the second set of seven quotations. The non-fulfillment quotations end and the fulfillment quotations only begin within the janus section *after* Jesus has explicitly entered into the shadow of his 'hour' (12:23).

Quite clearly, the confluence of factors I have identified in the Book of Signs makes it likely that this second major section of the narrative has been heptadically ordered, just like the first section.

6.3.3 *Seven Days (chs. 12–19)*

Thus far we have been prompted to count up. But now, with the turning point of the Gospel reached, and Jesus' hour' of glorification at hand, the direction is reversed. Jesus re-enters the scene from the wilderness just 'six days before the Passover' (12:1). Apparently, six days are to be counted off until the seventh (or first) is reached (cf. 19:31, 42). The effect of this *countdown* is to ratchet the suspense *up*. Surprisingly, several commentators either pass over this notation of 'six days before' (πρὸ ἕξ ἡμερῶν)¹⁶⁷ without comment or dismiss it as a benign

to transpire exactly on the seventh day? It is a tantalizing possibility (cf. 11:6–7, 17), but unclear.

164 On the seven scenes in John 9, see Lincoln 2005, 280.

165 So Morris 1971, 65–7; Witherington 1995, 42; Lincoln 2005, 6.

166 Cf. 2:17; 6:31, 45; 7:38, 42; 10:34; 12:14–15; and 12:38, 40; 13:18; 15:25; 19:24, 36, 37.

167 The phrase is attested in all but two manuscripts: $\hat{\imath}^{66}$, where 'six days before' is replaced with 'five days before'; and in the 8th c. Codex Regius (LO19), where $\pi\rho\acute{o}$ is replaced by $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$. $\Pi\rho\acute{o}$ ἕξ ἡμερῶν is clearly the early and authentic reading.

temporal indicator.¹⁶⁸ A few others do maintain that this marker signals a heptadic frame, the final 'week' in Jesus ministry, and see symbolic significance in it.¹⁶⁹ Brown demurs to the judgment that seven days should be counted off on the basis that there is no 'insistent counting of days' within this section.¹⁷⁰ This is true; but it once again assumes that number-patterns need be explicit. It also overlooks the fact that a numerically meaningful field of vision has been created—a vision I may stress that is frontloaded with the potential to guide the listener towards a moment of eschatological/theophanic significance and/or dramatic reversal. It also overlooks the fact that, even if not explicitly enumerated, the FE fastidiously marks time as the day of Passover encroaches. Without too much confusion or need of calculation, we are progressively moved by temporal indicators from six days before the Passover (12:1), to five days (12:12), to the evening before the Day of Preparation (13:1, 30; 18:3), until the fateful Day of Preparation itself (18:28; 19:14). Although the counting is reversed for psychological effect, the heptadic scheme is maintained. Thus, the time-keeping ends with Jesus, the slaughtered Passover Lamb, resting on the seventh-day in a deep Sabbath sleep (19:31–42).

One predictable objection to this numeric construal, of course, is that, in contrast to the two previous macrostructural heptads already outlined, this heptad climaxes at the sixth (or penultimate) instead of the seventh (or ultimate) unit, confounding the dynamic employed in the FG up to this point. In fact, nothing of the seventh/final day is narrated: it is merely anticipated and prepared for in 19:31–42. What is one to make of this? Adjudging the issue from a symbolic standpoint, two main responses seem possible.¹⁷¹

(i) In contrast to the other heptads, the FE climaxes events on the sixth instead of the seventh unit in order to underscore the ironic and/or paradoxical nature of Jesus' victory and glorification on the cross. Jesus' passion and death in the FG is clearly his moment of glory, wherein the truth, love, and victory of God for the salvation of the world are put on display. This is well

168 Hoskyns passes over the detail without a word (413). Bultmann footnotes some parallels of the phrase without comment (414 n. 4), and Brown simply states that 'since for John Passover will be Friday-evening/Saturday, the Bethany scene seems to be dated Saturday-evening/Sunday' (447).

169 E.g., Westcott 1881, 176; Barrett 1955, 342; Boismard 1951, 101; D. Moody Smith 1999, 233.

170 Brown 1966, 1:452.

171 If all other elements of the Passion have been shaped symbolically, so also the timeframe: 'Certainly in the Johannine Passion Narrative the underlying pre-Gospel tradition has been drastically reshaped by doctrinal, apologetic and dramatic concerns . . . John's story of Jesus on the cross consists of episodes selected for their symbolic import and scarcely a detail has been included that is not theologically oriented' (Brown 1970, 11:791).

recognized by Johannine scholars. Yet if the narrative of the FG reveals the cross as a highpoint for Jesus, it also reveals the crucifixion as a low point for humanity, Jews and Gentiles alike. Pilate, who thrice declares Jesus innocent, crucifies him. The Jews, undoubtedly nourished on the Shema, hail Caesar as the one and only King. Put in terms of the lawsuit motif, at the same moment Jesus is judged supremely glorious, the world is judged supremely condemnable—even if their behaviour ironically turns out for their good.¹⁷² One of the ways the FE may have sought to juxtapose Jesus' glorious action with the world's inglorious action, therefore, and draw out the ambiguity of victory and tragedy inherent within this event, is by juxtaposing sixes and sevens.

As demonstrated above, pattern numbers in oral traditional environments possessed traditional significance, and certain integers were thus freighted with a sort of double referential encoding, as with the differences between fives and fours among the Xhosa in Africa. In all probability, sixes and sevens contained a similar symbolic opposition in Jewish tradition. The number six—as one less than seven—would have been symbolic of imperfection or incompleteness, even as seven clearly connoted perfection or completion.¹⁷³ Suggestively, when we examine the sixth day as the FE has constructed it, we find that there are exactly seven scenes in the trial episode before Pilate followed by exactly seven scenes narrating Jesus' crucifixion, death, and burial.¹⁷⁴ Furthermore,

172 Lincoln 2000, 160.

173 See, e.g., the six *covert* woes in Luke 11:42–52. Also see the discussions in Ford 1975, 48; Beale 1999, 64. In discussing the concentration of prophets announcing imminent divine deliverance just prior to the great revolt, Horsley notes 'the portents that appeared in the months prior to the beginning of and in the years during the revolt' (Horsley 1985, 181). In one instance, as Josephus recounts, 'a cow brought for sacrifice gave birth to a lamb in the middle of the temple precincts; and the eastern door of the inner temple court—it was made of brass and so massive that at evening twenty men could barely close it—this door was seen opening all by itself *at the sixth hour* of the night' (*J. w.* 6.292–3, emphasis mine). Moreover, while this 'appeared to the common people to be a very happy prodigy, as if God thereby opened to them the gate of happiness. . . the men of learning understood it, that the security of their holy house was dissolved of its own accord, and that the gate was opened for the advantage of their enemies' (*J. w.* 6.295). Apparently, although Josephus' backhanded treatment of the 'common people' is here in view, 'men of learning' could discern that something happening at the 'sixth hour' was a bad omen, not a good one. Also, *pace* Adele Yarbo Collins, who claims that Philo has only positive things to say about the number six (see Beale 1999, 64), one finds that when considered in direct relationship to the number seven, the number six *was* deemed by Philo as second rank, of a distinctively inferior quality. Cf. for example *Deus.* 1:12; *Spec.* 2:57–9.

174 On these heptads, see Brown 11, 785–6; Mlakuzhyil 1987, 116. Prior to these, Lincoln notes that the disciples are urged to pray six times prior to Jesus' own prayer in John 17. Jesus'

sandwiched between these two sets of seven on this sixth day is the pregnant notation that it was ‘about the sixth hour’ (ὥρα ἥν ὥς ἔκτῃ; 19:14).¹⁷⁵ Has Jesus come in the wisdom of God to draw perfection out of imperfection?

Besides the feeling that this sort of compounding of heptads on this sixth day already begins to confirm the presence of the larger heptad, it seems that this temporal framing that plays with sixes and sevens can hardly be judged accidental or symbolically insignificant, for: (a) the interplay comes at a crucial moment in the narrative; (b) the sixth hour designation has an approximating nature that bespeaks the symbolic (e.g., ὥς in 19:14); and (c) the interplay participates in an interplay of these two numbers apparent at other points in the FG. To pick up on this last point, for example, we can see that Jesus transforms the water into wine in six stone jars on the seventh day, intimating Jesus’ perfection of an imperfect Jewish worship;¹⁷⁶ he comes to the Samaritan woman at ‘about the sixth hour’ (ὥρα ἥν ὥς ἔκτῃ)¹⁷⁷ evincing a supernatural knowledge of six previous suitors (4:18) while implicitly presenting himself as the seventh, intimating Jesus’ perfecting of the woman’s imperfect relational life. What is more, as well as being a symbol of the beast (666) and the number of times ‘Babylon’ the ‘great whore’ is mentioned in the Apocalypse, the number six is also specifically emblematic of God’s judgment against humanity in that book: ‘the sixth element of each series of seals, trumpets, and bowls focuses only on judgment of imperfect humanity’.¹⁷⁸ That Jesus ‘the man’ (19:5) dies on the sixth day amidst accumulating sevens, then, may perhaps be taken to underscore symbolically the reality that in judging Jesus, humanity itself was

prayer itself, Lincoln further observes, is structured into ‘seven specific petitions’ (Lincoln 2000, 434).

175 The textual variants seem to underline the authenticity and intentionality of the sixth hour. Says Metzger: ‘Instead of “about the sixth hour” several witnesses (Σ^c D^{supp} L X^{txt} D Y 053 72 88 123^{*mg} 151 Eusebius Nonnus) read “about the third hour” (ὥρα . . . ὥς τρίτῃ), an obvious attempt to harmonize the chronology with that of Mark 15:25 . . . Although one may conjecture that the disagreement originally arose (as Ammonius, followed by Eusebius and Jerome, suggested) when copyists confused the Greek numerals . . . the manuscript evidence is overwhelmingly in support of ἔκτῃ’.

176 Cf. Culpepper: ‘The number six may symbolize the incompleteness of the traditional ritual, which Jesus then literally fills (that is, fulfills) and replaces’ (1998, 131).

177 The phrase is identical to the Greek phrase of 19:14.

178 Beale 1999, 64. Notably, if Gage’s thesis (2001) that the FG and Revelation were composed to be mutually interpretative (which, I grant, is not a given), a clear concept of substitutionary atonement could be identified in the FG. By dying on the sixth day, Jesus shows solidarity with the judgment to be meted out on corrupt humanity, taking it on himself and applying this accomplishment to ‘whomsoever shall believe on him’.

judged in him, disclosing the vicarious death of Jesus on behalf of humanity. However one might judge this last point, it seems entirely plausible that the FE caused sixes and sevens to accumulate and crisscross at precisely this point in his narrative in order to draw out this *sort* of ironic and paradoxical reality.¹⁷⁹

(ii) Another possible explanation for the FE's location of Jesus' death on the sixth day lies in its relationship to the resurrection. For while the death of Jesus' clearly culminates the theme of Jesus' hour/glory/ascension in the FG, it does not complete it. As Brown notes, contrary to those who argue that the resurrection is superfluous to the theme of Jesus' glorification/ascension in the FG, we must see that 'Jesus is *lifted up* on the cross: he is *raised up* from the dead: and he *goes up* to the Father—all as part of one action and one "hour"'.¹⁸⁰ In short, cross and resurrection are twin highpoints in the FG that form an inseparable union.¹⁸¹ It could well be, therefore, that the FE aimed to achieve a double climax as his Gospel edged toward its closure, the first in Jesus' death on the sixth day for reasons like the ones we have already explored, and the second in Jesus' resurrection immediately after the seventh day. It is certainly the case, as demonstrated above, that locating dramatic eschatological events after, instead of on, a seventh day (or period) was well within Jewish convention for pattern numbers,¹⁸² and so the rhetorical effect of a double climax would not necessarily have been lost on informed Jewish audiences. Furthermore, if the recent study by Mihalios Stefanos is correct, and the FE has deliberately utilized the Danielic 'hour' to demonstrate that the great eschatological hour has arrived in Jesus, then choosing a double climax that dramatically moves first through the tribulation of the Son of Man (Dan 7) and then to his resurrection (Dan 12) after a seven-day period makes eminently good sense.¹⁸³

In sum, it appears that the FE has intentionally complicated his number-pattern in Chapters 12–19 and perhaps even fused it with Chapter 20 in order to strike a double—and very closely aligned—climax. The first climax is paradoxically reached on the sixth day, one day before the seventh; and the second

179 See Lincoln 2000, 228.

180 Brown 1970, 11:1014, emphasis mine. So Westcott: 'St John's narrative of the Resurrection is the counterpart and complement to his narrative of the Passion' (Westcott 1881, 287).

181 Further, the post-resurrection perspective of the FG is unarguable. See again p. 13 above. Also see Wright 2003, 440–49, esp. 447. Jesus' destruction may be presented as glorious, but not without presupposing the reality of his rising again (cf. 2:19; 11:4, 25, 40; 12:24).

182 See again section 6.2.3 above.

183 Cf. Dan 11:6, 35, 40, 45; 12:1, 13. Also cf. Dan 4:16, 23, 25, 32; 9:2, 24–26. See Mihalios, Stefanos. *The Danielic Eschatological Hour in the Johannine Literature*. Library of New Testament Studies, 436 (T & T Clark: New York: 2011). See the review in RBL by Dirk van der Merwe (08/2012).

climax is reached, more conventionally, immediately after the seventh day, first in Jesus' eschatologically fulfilling resurrection, and then in Thomas' climactic recognition of Jesus as 'Lord and God'. This more complex patterning not only draws a solid bridge between cross and resurrection as the Gospel's chief ascendant moments, but it enables the FE to play with time theologically, as I may now elaborate upon.

6.3.4 *Seven Days (ch. 20)*

However one construes the complexity and climactic events that culminate within the previous heptad of days, it is transparent in light of passages like John 2:19; 5:21, 28–9; 11:25, 40–4; and 12:24 that the narrative of Jesus' resurrection, along with his appearances before his disciples, arrives as one of the principal climaxes in the FG. If the end was anticipated in the beginning, then the whole narrative of the FG has been driving towards this eschatological moment: of the new beginning (1:1; 20:1), constituted of a new creation (1:3; 20:1–18), populated with a new humanity (1:4, 12; 20:19–20), who have a new indwelling (1:13; 20:22), for completing a new commission (1:14–18; 20:21–3).¹⁸⁴ Likewise, in a Gospel focused on revelation and recognition of the true identity of Jesus, Thomas' confession 'My Lord and my God' (20:28) trumps all.¹⁸⁵ Once again, the eschatological and theophanic notes identifiable at the climax of traditional Jewish heptads are evident.

Moreover, it seems that with the 'end' and last 'day' of history inaugurated,¹⁸⁶ and Jesus about to be fully recognized as the God he is, time takes on a new quality in this closing section of the FG. The heptadic structuring does not cease, but is transformed. There is no enumeration of days, no counting up, no counting down, and no quotidian progression. Instead, in tune with the idea that history has reached its *telos*, the progress of time is now less important

¹⁸⁴ See further discussion in section 7.2.4 below.

¹⁸⁵ 'Thomas's confession is the highest confession offered in the Gospel. It is the complement to the announcement that "the Word became flesh . . . and we have seen his glory." With Thomas's confession the series of recognition scenes reaches a high point, if not a conclusion: Jesus full identity has been realized' (Culpepper 1998, 243).

¹⁸⁶ The eschatological 'day of the Lord' seems in view. 20:19 reads 'Now on *that* first day of the week'. Brown comments: 'Some would see here . . . an evocation of the OT concept of the day of the Lord, sometimes called "that day," for example, "My people shall know my name; on that day they shall know it is I who speak (Isa lii 6). It would not be at all unlikely that John would regard as the eschatological day this Sunday on which, through the gift of the Spirit, Jesus makes possible his permanent presence among his followers; see John xiv 20: "On *that day* you will recognize that I am in my Father, and you are in me, and I in you" (also xvi 23, 26)' (II, 1019).

than the realization of its fulfillment.¹⁸⁷ We are not to bask in a spirit of anticipation, but in a spirit of realization. Consequently, we have simply the fact of a completed seven. We are projected from one first day (20:1) to another first day (20:26), from Lord's day to Lord's day, without ado. Time itself has changed.¹⁸⁸

That time itself has changed seems to be the point of the FE's somewhat strange statement that 'after another eight days again' (20:26). Rather than counting this as another major structural heptad in the FG, the notation seems designed to show the FE's cards and provoke a deeper understanding of what time now is, and how time in light of Jesus' resurrection may now be experienced. The first day of the week is now also to be thought of as the eighth day of the week, which is to say, the day which celebrates and acknowledges not simply the beginning of a new cycle of seven in a linear mode of temporality but of the teleological completion of the cycle of seven in an eschatological mode of temporality. In other words, with the eighth day, we are to be overwhelmed with the sense of an arrival, as though we have entered beyond the sphere of the seventh seven into a new temporality—the 'first' or 'eighth' dimension. 2 *Enoch* confirms this interpretation of the eighth day:

On the 8th day I likewise appointed, so that the 8th day might be the 1st, the first-created of my week, and that it should revolve in the revolution of 7000; so that the 8000 might be in the beginning of a time not reckoned and unending, neither years, nor months, nor weeks, nor days, nor hours like the first day of the week, so also that the eighth day of the week might return continually (2 *En.* 33:1–2).

'A time not reckoned and unending'. Thus, the eighth day seems to mark the newness of time due to the irruption of the new age into history.

The work of Reinhart Staats strongly affirms this interpretation. Examining the considerable use of the number eight in both Jewish and Christian literature and in early Christian architecture, Staats concludes that this number functioned as a 'Symbol von Auferstehung und ewiger Vollendung'.¹⁸⁹ Moreover, 'Der achte Tage . . . ist zum Inbegriff von "Auferstehung", "Vollkommenheit",

187 John 19:18, 30. See Zech 14:6–7: 'On that day there shall be neither cold nor frost. And there shall be continuous day (it is known to the LORD), not day and not night, for at evening time there shall be light'.

188 Τῇ δὲ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων, 'Now on the first day of the week', lit.: 'The first day after the Sabbath' (see GELNT 4684; LEH 7927; Brown 1970, 11:980). See Moloney 1998a, 176.

189 ' . . . as a symbol of the resurrection and eternal perfection' (Staats 1972, 29).

“himmlischem Jerusalem”, “ewigem Leben” geworden”.¹⁹⁰ Therefore, we may conclude that the FE’s notation of ‘another eight days’ is not intended to divide John 20 into two distinct heptads; it underscores that world history has reached a spectacular turning point due to Jesus’ cross and resurrection. The new age has dawned, however unexpectedly. This era may be experienced in the present by all and sundry—or, at least, by those who will believe (20:29–31).

6.3.5 *Seven Disciples (ch. 21)*

If this chapter is an appendix or addendum, as often thought, then the original shape of the Gospel was composed of three to four heptads, perhaps as an indication of the cosmic completion of Jesus’ work.¹⁹¹ As it stands, this section comprises the fourth or fifth major heptad in the FG and serves to conclude the closure begun in Chapter 20.¹⁹² Instead of being temporally focused, this section is numerically unified by the number of disciples presented.¹⁹³ Exactly seven disciples are presented (v. 2), no doubt representative of the ‘full’ number of Jesus’ disciples.¹⁹⁴ If it is queried why the FE would present seven disciples instead of twelve, we could of course appeal to the historicity of the event.¹⁹⁵ A better response in light of the many symbolisms and strong allegorical thrust of this story,¹⁹⁶ would be to affirm that there are exactly seven disciples because, even though the FE acknowledges ‘the Twelve’ in other places,¹⁹⁷ the heptad continues to be his select pattern number for the enstructuration of his Gospel. He thus presents seven disciples instead of twelve. As with the previous heptad in Chapter 20, instead of units that are progressively unfolded until a climax is reached, this heptad has been designed to create a symbolic acoustic for the reading act as a whole. What Jesus does and

190 “The eighth day . . . has become synonymous with “resurrection”, “perfection”, “heavenly Jerusalem”, “eternal life”” (Staats 1972, 30).

191 The number four in the Johannine Apocalypse, for example, can represent the whole creation, as in the ‘four corners of the earth’ (e.g. Rev 7:1).

192 On the distinction between closures and conclusions in ancient narratives and in the FG, see Estes 2008, 118–29.

193 In stark contrast to the definite temporal markers in 20:1, 26, the marker that begins 21:1 is indefinite; ‘a stereotyped connective conveniently used to attach extraneous matter’; its ‘temporal value is very weak’ (Brown 1970, 11:1067).

194 Talbert 2005, 267.

195 As Westcott 1881, 299.

196 See especially Koester 1995, 118–22.

197 John 6:67, 70–1; 20:24.

says here has relevance for, and is implicitly addressed to, all of his disciples.¹⁹⁸ Finally, the parallels with the Apocalypse are once again conspicuous: as the Apocalypse begins with seven letters addressed to seven churches, urging them to maintain covenant faithfulness in light of the risen Lord's ongoing presence and provision among them, so the FG ends.

6.4 Conclusion

I have attempted in the present chapter to make an argument for the macrostructural number-patterning of the FG. On balance, in addition to showing that the proposal offered is (a) exegetically defensible, and (b) in alignment with the aggregate of major proposals already on offer,¹⁹⁹ it may be judged that my hypothesis about a fivefold heptadic patterning in the FG that divides the FG into four or five major blocks of material stands up very well when (c) looked at through the lenses sharpened by the insights discussed in section 6.2 above (elements A–D). To offer a very brief synopsis of (c):

First, in terms of the psychology of counting as it joins with the practice of using number-patterns in oral or oral derived compositions, there are sufficiently clear markers within each heptadic section that would have compelled readers/listeners already predisposed to count, and to do so specifically in terms of days, signs, days, days, and disciples. Arriving at a seven count for each of these items would also have satisfied ancient Jewish listeners' psychological craving for completion, seeing this number connoted the idea of completion itself, among other meanings.

198 Identifying this scene as an 'eighth narrated sign' of Jesus, as some have done (e.g., Smalley), would meaningfully correspond with the idea that historical time has entered into its 'eighth day', even as Jesus may be thought of as the 'eighth' figure to appear in this narrative.

199 There is no space here to demonstrate this at any length. But compare my proposal with the argument for the FG's major sections in Mlakuzyhyil 1987, 137–68. In essence, while interacting and showing similarity with a wide variety of other major proposals for the FG's macrostructure, Mlakuzyhyil concludes that the FG divides into two major sections plus an introduction and conclusion. Thus: § 1:1–2:11—Introduction/Proem with segue into Public Ministry § 2–12—Book of Signs or Public Ministry § 11–20—Book of Glory/Passion/Ministry to Disciples § 21—Epilogue/Appendix/Afterword/Ecclesiastical Conclusion.

Second, in terms of the general insights derived from oral traditional contexts, I have shown how each heptad also serves to frame neatly the discreet episodes or acts of the ministry of Jesus as depicted by the FE: an introductory section (1:1–2:11) is followed by a ministry of signs (2:1–12), which is followed by the arrival of Jesus' hour and journey to cross and resurrection (11–19 and 20 or 11–20); the Gospel then concludes with Jesus' final appearance to his disciples that focuses on the disciples' worldwide mission (21). Although the last two heptads are different, for reasons explained, it was also shown how the first three of these five sets of seven evince a dramatic and escalating trajectory that is conventional for orally influenced number-patterns, whereby events come to a climax at the final unit.

Third, in terms of the idiosyncrasies of Jewish heptads in particular, I pointed out how each of the FG's major heptads are capped and climaxed more specifically as a mighty turning point and/or moment of revelation—whether theophanic and/or eschatological, although most were discernibly both. Although differently arranged, the last two heptads were also seen to convey eschatological and theophanic realities, connoting their participation in the reality of the new age—the temporally completed seven.

Fourth, as one looks over this numeric structure, it may be observed that it is not only the first three heptads that appear to influence the reader or listener's sense of timing, of suspense, and expectation; all of the heptads taken together seem to play with this rhetorical affect. As may be observed, there is considerable overlap and/or interconnection between heptads, whereby in conjunction with practices of 'interlocking', the last unit of one heptad frequently becomes the first unit of another. Put more dynamically, the climax of one unit merely becomes the starting point of another unit, as was seen with the last day of the FG's first heptad which is also the first sign of the FG's second heptad.

The rhetorical effect of this quite sophisticated interweaving is a dramatic escalation, as in a sort of telescoping of narrative parts: the reader/listener is progressively pushed up from one eschatological/theophanic vista to a higher one until the highest is reached. This may be seen by comparing respective climaxes. With the first and second heptads, for example, we are moved from a wedding infused with joy to a funeral overwhelmed by it; from a sign betokening life to a sign bestowing it; from the announcement of the delay of Jesus' hour to the announcement of its arrival. The second heptad is overtaken by and subsumed under the third in a very similar way. Here we are moved from one set of grave clothes to another; from one stage of glory to another; from one anointing to another; and from one undoing of death to the promise of a greater one. The relationship between the third and fourth heptads is

somewhat more complex, as cross and resurrection constitute a dual climax in the FG. Yet, the escalation of eschatological and theophanic themes may also be detected here as we are moved from Jesus' eschatological proclamation on the cross that 'it is finished' to the evangelist's time-mapping of the 'completed sevenfold/eighth day of resurrection that embodies this reality. Similarly, if Jesus' moment on the cross has been staged throughout the Gospel as a moment of great glory, and therefore, one of the greatest implicit moments of the revelation of God to man, then this implicit moment is trumped by Thomas' explicit and utterly climactic recognition and confession that the crucified and now risen Lord in his midst is 'My Lord and my God'. Finally, although the final act of the Gospel in Chapter 21 is clearly a *dénouement* for the whole as it presently stands, it may nevertheless be seen to bring closure or completion to the waves of climaxes already reached in preceding heptads: for here the risen and reigning 'Lord' (21:7), who is properly recognized by his disciples, promises by means of the symbolic catch of fish to be equally recognized by a full number of converts from among the nations in the future.²⁰⁰ These, too, we are to gather, will receive eternal, eschatological life in his name.

Consequently, we are to see that the central purpose of God's coming in Jesus for Israel and for 'the world' is foreseen even here to be entirely completed.

Certainly, as one looks back over these escalating series of heptads, it may be seen that if number-patterns were designed in oral traditional contexts to influence hearers' sense of time, suspense and expectation, the FG's number-patterning—right in line with the Johannine Apocalypse—may be regarded as a bright paragon of this rhetorical affect. Schnackenburg long ago observed that one of the most remarkable features of the FG's structure that 'makes it different from the Synoptics' is its 'dramatic element'.²⁰¹ Both large episodes and small scenes contain moments of suspense that move to a climax. Additionally, the FE's 'thought "circles", repeating and insisting, and at the same

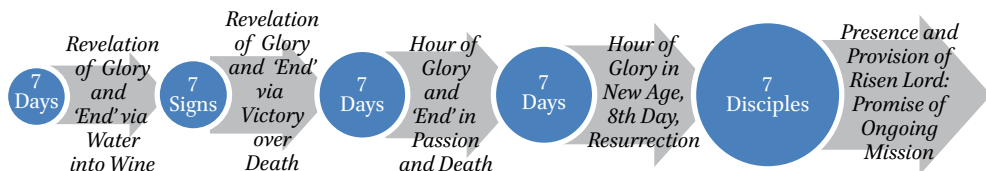


FIGURE 5 *The Fourth Gospel's Interlocking and Escalating Heptads.*

200 For a good exposition along these lines, see Bauckham 2007, Chapter 13.

201 Schnackenburg 1968, 114.

time moving forward, explaining and going on to a higher level'.²⁰² Although Schnackenburg never applies these insights to the Gospel's macrostructure, he is essentially describing the rhetorical impact of the structure identified in this chapter. The difference is that whereas Schnackenburg attributes the FE's art in this regard to 'a personal style, achieved by meditation on the revelation of Jesus Christ and used to clarify this revelation', the present chapter has found this sort of architectonic building and climaxing to be a fairly typical outworking of (what would appear to be) oral traditional conventions.²⁰³

In conclusion, it has been shown that there is more than adequate reason for affirming the fivefold numeric scheme presented in this chapter. It is simple. It is exegetically sound. It comports with pattern-numbers in oral traditional contexts generally. It coincides with ethnopoetic uses of heptads in Jewish and Johannine traditions specifically. It converges with the bulk of proposals on offer for the FG's structure. And, not least of all, it is meaningful. The task now is to show how this number-pattern is *doubly* meaningful, since it has also been used deftly to 'package' an underlying story-pattern. It is to this proposition I now turn.

202 Schnackenburg 1968, 117.

203 Schnackenburg 1968, 118. See also Du Rand 1998, who likens the FG's structural movement to a symphony that cycles through recurrent themes and features that are eventually 'brought to a final climax' (13). I say 'what would appear to be oral traditional conventions' here because there is always that possibility that some of these heptads were deployed in conjunction with literary conventions. Again, the two poetics need not be pitted against each other, even if I have emphasized the one poetic for heuristic purposes in the present chapter.

An Argument for the Story-Patterning of the Fourth Gospel

The strength and principal agenda of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century biblical studies was its narrow philological focus on word study and close exegetical analysis of text-fragments. Our predecessors in the field carried out microscopic examination of every twig and needle of every tree within the biblical forest. But they had little sense of the wider contours and patterns of meaning in that forest . . . Yet patterns of culture broader than what can be articulated in a bible verse or pericope are presupposed, embedded and expressed in our texts, if we only had eyes to see.¹



7.1 Introduction

I have argued in the previous chapters for the story-patterning of the prologue and the heptadic number-patterning of the FG as a whole. The present chapter will attempt to demonstrate how the FE appears to have ‘packaged’ a story-pattern into this number-pattern and done so as an extension of the story begun and summarized in the prologue.

As may be recalled from Chapter 2, a comparative survey of over fifty summaries of Israel’s story suggest that, on a grand scale, Israel’s story was frequently represented within various communities of Israel as a sequence of up to seven moves:

- (1) In light of the back-story told in Gen 1–11, especially about the Creator and his creation, Israel is:
- (2) Established (Elected/Chosen)
- (3) Rescued out of Egypt
- (4) Provided for in/Led through the Wilderness

¹ Horsley 2003a, 162–3.

- (5) Settled through Conquest
- (6) Exiled (either presented as fact or promise/prediction)
- (7) Returned/Restored (either presented as fact or promise/prayer/prediction)

It may also now be observed that these seven moves are frequently conceptualized (and could therefore be keyed to) according to the heroic or principal figures that featured most prominently within these moves. In textualized and/or non-textualized (popular) traditions, for example, it is evident that: (a) the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob could represent the seminal time of 'Jacob'/'Israel's' establishment as the covenant people of Yahweh;² (b) Moses (and sometimes Aaron) could represent the time of Yahweh's superintending over Israel as they made their way from Egypt, through the wilderness, to the edge of the promised land;³ and (c) both Joshua and David (and sometimes the warrior-judges) were associated with Israel's settlement in the land via conquest prior to various experiences of partial or full exile due to sin.⁴ The bipartite grouping of the Primary History into two distinct collections certainly upholds the impression that Israel's story could be broken down according to these principal figures and/or epochs: the bulk of the Pentateuch narrates the campaign of Moses;⁵ the Deuteronomistic History (Josh–Kings) contains the similar conquering or re-conquering campaigns of Joshua, the judges, and

2 Presumably this would have been understood as taking place in light of creation's tragic beginnings, although this is not always stated or made clear. See Lev 26:42; Deut 29:13; 30:20; Josh 24:2b–4; 1 Chron 16:16–17; Ps 104:9–10a; Mic 7:20; Neh 9:7; *Jub.* 1:7; 3 1 Macc 6:3. See also the FE's apparent appreciation for this shorthand referencing: 'Moses gave you circumcision (it is, of course, not from Moses, but from the patriarchs [τῶν πατέρων])' (John 7:22).

3 E.g., Josh 24:5–7; Ps 104:26; Mic 6:4. As may be recalled from Chapter 2, by the emergence of a 'new' Moses, on the one hand, or a 'new' Joshua or David, on the other, the basic sequence of moves associated with these legendary figures would be connoted and expected to be fulfilled in popular culture. The appearance of a new Moses, for example, might well be followed by trips into the desert, whereupon a regrouped Israel might receive new signs of provision before a new crossing over the Jordan River. See Horsley 1985, 137–8, and further discussion in section 7.2.3 below.

4 E.g., Ps 78:70–72; 1 Macc 2:55, 57. The memory of Joshua and David as prototypical deliverers was particularly strong in popular traditions described by Josephus (see section 7.2.3 below). Other figures were also memorialized in biblical tradition, and perhaps became patterns for later prophetic action. As 1 Sam 12:11 declares, after Israel was given over to Sisera because of their sin, 'the Lord sent Jerub-Baal, Barak, Jephthah and Samuel, and he delivered you from the hands of your enemies on every side, so that you lived securely in the land'.

5 'The genre of the Pentateuch as a whole has been characterized as "the biography of Moses"' (Hendel 2001, 615).

David; and the book of Genesis functions as a ‘preface’, or book of ‘beginnings’ (רֵאשִׁית) for it all.⁶ This suggests that Israel’s seven-part story could be conceptualized—and evoked most compactly—during the first century according to just three major ‘eras’, ‘epochs’, or ‘periods of time’:

1. A period of ‘beginnings’ up to and under the Patriarchs.
2. A period covering the campaign of Moses.
3. A period encompassing the conquest/settlement/exile and experiences of mini-return/restoration under the campaigns of Joshua, David and/or the warrior-judges.

Taken together, it seems safe to assert that Israel’s historical narrative could have been thought of by someone like the FE as consisting, in simplest terms, of three epochal periods and, within these periods, six moves, Israel’s restoration overlapping with the idea of a renewed conquest and return from exile. Put graphically, Israel’s story could be conceived as follows:



“Beginnings”	· (1) <i>Creation and Fall</i> · (2) <i>Establishment of Israel</i>
“The Campaign of Moses”	· (3) <i>Rescue from Egypt</i> · (4) <i>Provision in Wilderness</i>
“The Campaign(s) of Joshua/David”	· (5) <i>Conquest/Settlement</i> · (6) <i>Exile from Land</i>

FIGURE 6 Israel’s story as three epochs with six moves.

The argument of the present chapter is that these three periods, along with their sequence of moves, have been creatively ‘packaged’ into the FE’s first three (or four) macrostructural heptads (i.e. all the material spanning chs. 1–20). Given that Chapter 21 appears to correspond less to a signature ‘move’ in Israel’s overarching narrative as to a popular motif or type-scene that consistently crops up at all major intersections in Israel’s scriptural narrative,⁷ we will keep our comments on this section to a minimum.

6 The character of Genesis as the gateway for the Pentateuch, if not the entire Deuteronomistic history, is clear. See, e.g., Kline 2000, who argues that Genesis is the ‘Kingdom Prologue’.

7 Namely, wherein legendary-but-departing-figures exhort Israel to a renewed covenant faithfulness: as with Jacob (Gen 49); Moses (Deut 28–31); Joshua (Josh 24); and David (1Kings 1–7). See again Chapter 2, n. 11 above.

7.2 The Story-Pattern within the Number-Pattern

7.2.1 *Seven Days (1:1–2:11): New Beginnings*

Prior to the janus section (2:1–11), the first act of the FG moves from an association with the original creation narrative (1:1) and the assumption of the ‘fall’ of humanity to an association with the dream-vision of Israel’s last patriarch, Jacob (1:51; cf. Gen 28:12).⁸ This makes the general span of thought in this first act redound with the span of the first major period of Israel’s story, which moves from creational beginnings to Jacob. Given the importance of framing in oral traditional environments,⁹ this is a good first sign that the FE may indeed have constructed his first heptad to mirror the story of Israel’s beginnings. A good second sign is the fact that commentators have found the overarching theme of this first heptad to be Jesus’ establishment of ‘a new community’.¹⁰ A third supporting feature is found in the way this heptad appears to pick up and more explicitly develop the immanent story told in the prologue in creative alignment with memories of Israel’s election in, and experiences with, the legendary figure of Jacob/Israel.

As argued in Chapter 4, in both scripture and tradition, the story of Israel’s beginnings in Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob is intimately related to the story of the world’s beginnings, specifically with Adam and/or the purpose of humanity. In particular, God elects Abraham/Israel, as he had elected Adam, to be the principal operative mechanism whereby the glory of God inherent in man (by way of the breath/Spirit/glory of God), or with Israel (by way of her altars, tabernacles and/or temples), would be diffused into the outer reaches of the cosmic temple, bringing life, order, and all-around beatitude. Adam and Israel’s successive repudiations of the word and/or light of God, however, led to divestures of glory: the glory departed from Adam, even as the glory/Spirit of God departed from Israel’s temple. Consequently, first with Adam, and then with the multiplication of humanity, darkness was multiplied instead of the glory of God in the ‘light’ of men; the creation was subject to futility.

Picking up on this version of the story, I argued in Chapter 5 that the first part of ‘The Testament’ in the prologue (1:1–18) presents the Logos become flesh in Jesus as the answer to this problem. In Jesus is a new representative ‘flesh’ filled with all the glory of Adam. Consequently, although ‘no one has ever seen God’, the only-begotten of God in Jesus has ‘revealed’ him (vv. 17–18).

8 On the constitution of the prologue, see again Chapter 4 above. On the resonance of memories of Jacob at Bethel in John 1:51, see p. 299 below.

9 See again section 3.2.2.1 above.

10 See, e.g., Talbert 2005, 83.

Whatever other high christology may be in play, according to Israel's 'high' theological anthropology, Jesus as a truly human person has at long last done what humanity as God's image-bearer was always designed to do: he *has* shone forth the truth and glory of God.

In accord with this Adamic emphasis in the prologue, then, Jesus is centrally presented in the second part of 'The Testament' (vv. 19–34) as the eschatological liberator who, in addition to being the new dwelling place of the 'Spirit' (cf. 1:32), is promised to baptize others 'with the Spirit' (v. 33). Given the accompanying 'dove' imagery, which Dale Allison argues is patently 'new creation' imagery,¹¹ and given the likely echoes of Ezekiel 36 and 37, which envisage God's ultimate restoration of Israel as the reconstitution of a Spirit/breath-filled Adamic humanity,¹² the presentation of Jesus in 1:19–34 looks like a new Spirit-filled Adam come to reestablish a new Spirit-filled humanity. This interpretation may even find support in John the Baptist's unique threefold denial that opens his witness to Jesus in v. 19. As was argued in Chapter 4, primal Adam, as well as those characterized after him as 'new Adams' in the world, were frequently presented in scripture and Jewish tradition as functioning tri-angularly as exemplary prophets, priests, and kings from a cultic centrepiece. This memory may have been instrumental in eschatological hopes centering on the reemergence of these three figures or of one synthetic figure in whom all these offices were present.¹³ It may certainly be taken as suggestive, then, that immediately following the prologue's insinuation that Jesus is God's new Adam/Israel and 'tabernacled' presence in the world, John is approached by a group of temple authorities to whom he immediately denies being 'the Christ', or 'Elijah', or 'the Prophet'. To be sure, given that this trio of figures may represent Israel's eschatological king, priest and prophet respectively,¹⁴ John may be taken to deny them because, in accord with what was just revealed in the prologue, Jesus—*precisely as God's new Adam/Israel*—is the sum and substance of all these figures.¹⁵

As becomes immediately apparent in v. 29 (and later in v. 36), however, the FE will not merely be content in the 'Testament', as he will not merely be content throughout his Gospel, only to state who Jesus is or what Jesus will do.

11 Allison 2000, 11–16.

12 See Schnackenburg 1968, 305; Bruce 1983, 54; Carson 1991, 152 Köstenberger 2004, 70–1.

13 See again p. 126 above.

14 As argued in Bauckham 2007, 209–12. But cf. Ashton 2007, 160–1 (along with n. 36).

15 To be sure, these figures are not *conflated* in the FG, as stressed by Bauckham (2007, 207–8 *passim*), but they do find their respective fulfillment in the figure of Jesus. This is also stressed by Ashton 2007, 156–70.

The FE will also consistently suggest more specifically just how Jesus will do it. Furthermore, the FE's choice of imagery in v. 29 reinforces the likelihood that the FE is offering a highly ideological retelling of the story of Israel's 'beginnings' at this point in the narrative. After all, it must be taken as suggestive, particularly in light of John's dogged denials in 1:20–21 (and implicitly in v. 25), that when Jesus does step on the stage, instead of saying 'Behold! The Christ, Elijah, and Prophet you've been waiting for!', as we would expect John to say, John proclaims, 'Behold (ἴδε)', 'the ὁ ἄμνός τοῦ θεοῦ, who takes away the sin of the world'. The FE's motive for this wording appears irreducibly ideological. The way in which Jesus will reconstitute Israel and bring history to its *telos*, the FE wants to establish from the very outset of his Gospel, is by way of suffering/sacrifice.¹⁶ Approximating what is stated in the Apocalypse, the FE introduces Jesus by saying/showing that the 'lion' is a 'lamb' (cf. 1:29; Rev 5:5–6).

However, while granting that the FE is evoking traditional and/or scriptural associations in this description, to what does ἄμνός refer? Where do we find a lamb that is also said to take away the sin of the world? As discussed in Chapters 1 and 3 above, this evocation has been a crux in Johannine scholarship. To review: the problem from a textual perspective is that there is not a single place in scripture where a lamb is said or even implied to take away the sin of the world. A goat might do so on the Day of Atonement, or the Suffering Servant might do that according to Isaiah 53, but no lamb—and especially one who is actually a zoomorphized human—takes away the sin of the world. One of the proposed solutions to this problem, as was rehearsed, has been to suggest that the FE has combined several texts (e.g., Exod 12; Lev 16 and 17; Isa 53) into a new fusion to present the complex reality of Jesus by juxtaposing previously unrelated icons.¹⁷ This is certainly a possibility, and I would not want to exclude it. In fact, as Brown has shown, there are excellent reasons for believing that these sorts of texts and/or memories are in the background.¹⁸ However, there are other possibilities.

16 Putting the matter this way does not preclude a particular expiatory or other theology of atonement. In fact, as Koester has argued cogently, because 'sin' in the FG is fundamentally the embrace of a lie about God and/or the militant refusal to see the truth about God, 'overcoming sin' in the FG concerns the revelation of the truth about God in a way that overcomes and replaces this militancy. Jesus' sacrifice, the astonishing revelation of God's love even for those who hate him, does exactly this. See Koester 2008, 113–16. See also G. R. Greene 2010, 152.

17 See p. 28 above. Also see this recent suggestion in G. R. Greene 2010, 154–5.

18 See Brown 1966, 1:58–63.

As explored in Chapter 3, one could interpret the FE's use of 'lamb' language from an oral traditional perspective as an example of a metonymic integer, wherein traditional meaning has become aggregatized through reuse and repetition. In this view, the figure in John 1:29 may present the reader/hearer with one single crystallized impression: an innocent, vulnerable creature that, for various reasons, is frequently subjected to death/sacrifice.¹⁹ No single text or traditional referent therefore needs to be identified. The problem with this latter option, however, is that it does not describe what is actually seen of Jesus in the FG! For although Jesus 'the lamb of God' will be portrayed (even if not explicitly labeled) as perfectly holy and sacrificed,²⁰ the FE will not allow the slightest insinuation that Jesus is a 'vulnerable creature' dragged to his death. On the contrary, Jesus is presented as a powerful and willing servant, who goes to his death voluntarily.²¹ There is of course nothing to say that the FE would not want to use a traditionally misaligned referent like this, for such a reapplication might serve his ideological purposes. As a result, I would not want to exclude this second possibility either. A third—and in my opinion most compelling—solution to the FE's evocative language, is to hear 1:29 as primarily recalling popularized memories of Isaac and the Akedah.

There are at least six reasons why 1:29 (and thus also 1:36) may be seen to cast Jesus in the role of a new Isaac, the almost sacrificed, beloved son of Abraham.

Firstly, it would seem that the FE is telling his story of Jesus according to a scriptural framework. Although freely branching out in many associated directions, this story-pattern is guiding the contours of his thought. If, as I have argued, the FE has already keyed into memories about the creation of the world, Adam, the 'fall', Abraham and Sarah, and especially the coming of a new Adam in Jesus in the prologue, it would be fitting to follow up these evocations with an allusion to the patriarch Isaac. It would simply 'fit in' with what the FE appears to be doing at a sub-structural level.

Secondly, the prologue has already gone some distance towards arousing memories about Isaac, which would prepare for hearing 1:29 as invoking additional memories about him. The FE seems to evoke Isaac as the miracle child of believing Abraham and Sarah in vv. 12–13. His memory may also flicker in the *μονογενής* language: like Isaac, Jesus is the 'only begotten' and 'beloved'

19 See full discussion in section 3.2.2.2 above.

20 On the theme of Jesus' holiness in the FG see Bauckham 2007, 253–269.

21 Even in the midst of his 'hour', for example, this point is made clear. Prior to Jesus' giving himself up to hostile soldiers, they are knocked over like bowling pins (18:6). Prior to his crucifixion, Jesus gives Caesar the permission to kill him (19:11).

from/of and in the bosom of his Father (v. 14c, 18; cf. 3:16).²² This connection of μονογενής language with Isaac has long been suspected by Johannine scholars.²³ Furthermore, although not arguing for an Isaac connection directly, P. J. du Plessis discerns a direct connection, from a structural perspective, between μονογενής language in 1:14 and John's 'lamb' declaration in 1:29.²⁴

Thirdly, John's declaration of Jesus as the 'lamb of God' in v. 36 is immediately preceded by the confession that Jesus is ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. This declaration may seem unconnected to the theme of Jesus as a new Isaac, but, as Leroy Huizenga observes, Philo in particular *uniquely* identified Isaac not only as the 'beloved' and 'only begotten' of God, but also as ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.²⁵

Fourth, the existence of the textual variant ὁ ἐκλεκτός for ὁ υἱός in v. 34—although frequently seen to recall Isaiah's Suffering Servant²⁶—may be explained with reference to an understanding of v. 29 as an evocation of Isaac. For it is Jesus, the New Isaac, the FE may be saying, who has been elected to

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- 22 The Hebrew **יְהוָה**, translated in the LXX of Gen 22.2 as τὸν ἀγαπητόν is rendered elsewhere as μονογενής. On this point see Huizenga 2009a, 80.
- 23 Scholars have especially seen this connection at 3:16, where the notion of Jesus being the 'only begotten' of God is explicitly combined with notions of the love between the Father and Son, a theme that is also and *first* emphasized in scripture in Gen 22:2 (see Fee 2007, 538). On the basis of its Hebrew equivalent (**יְהוָה**), both Lindars and Schnackenburg claim that μονογενής can mean a 'beloved son' (Schnackenburg 1968, 271; Lindars 1972, 96). For those who see this language referring to Isaac, see, e.g., Westcott 1881, 55; Barrett 1955, 180; Brown 1966, 1:63, 147; Lindars 1972, 159.
- 24 As Greene summarizes: 'du Plessis suggests that the term ἀμνός should be contextually understood in terms of a *terminus gloriae* of the coming one as Son of God and only begotten of the Father. . . . In treating the microstructure of John 1:29–34, he finds that the pericope has an overall chiasmic A-B-B-A pattern related to John 1:14. As du Plessis states: "The author's train of thought may be summarized as follows: Jesus is the ἀμνός of God (A); he takes away the sins [*sic*] of the world (B); he is the pre-existent One (vv. 30–31); the one in whom the Spirit descended (v. 33); He is the One who is to baptize with the Holy Spirit (B: v. 33(b)); He is the Son of God (A: v. 34)." John thus testifies to the glory (δόξα) of Jesus, as the "unique one" (μονογενής), the ἀμνός of God because he is *the Son of God*' (G. R. Greene 2010, 156, quoting du Plessis 1986, 138).
- 25 '[Philo] states in four separate texts that Isaac has God as Father and . . . is thus truly the υἱὸς θεοῦ (Huizenga 2009a, 101; with reference to *Mut.* 131; *Det.* 124; *Somn.* 1.173; *Leg.* 3.219).
- 26 E.g., Ashton 2007, 161: 'This is unquestionably a reference to one of Second Isaiah's Servant Songs: "Behold my servant who I uphold, my chosen one (. . . ὁ ἐκλεκτός) in whom my soul delights: I have put my spirit upon him".'

actualize the promises of God to Abraham, just like Isaac was elected over Ishmael.²⁷

Fifth, and most weightily, retellings of the Akedah were popular in the Second Temple period.²⁸ Furthermore, these popular retellings expanded on the biblical narrative in important and, what for early Jesus followers would become, very suggestive ways. For example, these retellings of Isaac's near sacrifice were closely associated, argues Huizenga, with: (a) the Passover, (b) the Temple Mount, (c) the revelation of God/heavenly realities, and (d) soteriology. Above all, and in remarkable contrast to the biblical narrative, these retellings also presented Isaac not as a passive, vulnerable subject, but as (e) an active and willing participant, who faced his sacrifice with valour and piety.²⁹ As will become immediately apparent, both the corollary associations as well as the primary depiction of Isaac as a willing sacrifice coincide with the FE's depiction of God's 'one and only beloved Son' in the body of the Gospel. As we witness, God's beloved Son moves from (a) Passover to Passover and (b) temple context to temple context as (c) a revelation of heaven/heavenly realities; furthermore, Jesus does this willingly in order to (d) save the world from sin and death as (e) God's sacrificial lamb and new temple on the eve of Passover.

27 As Huizenga states with reference to depictions of Jesus as a new Isaac and the 'Suffering Servant' motif in Matthew's gospel: One 'option for scholars who consider the Servant figure decisive is to see the Servant and Isaac as figures operating in a complementary fashion in an intertextual fusion, even though in the history of scholarship they have in effect had to struggle with one another, with Isaac often the loser' (2009a, 129 n. 1). More critically, Huizenga spends a chapter challenging the notion that there was a coherent concept of the 'Suffering Servant' within what he calls a first-century 'encyclopedia'. He suggests that although the 'concept of the "Suffering Servant" remains a staple of New Testament scholarship', the "Suffering Servant" 'as defined by modern scholarship... was not a meaningful category within the ancient Jesus encyclopedia' Rather, 'the Servant figure has come into being through centuries of biblical interpretation... Modern interpreters have thus read a discrete, well-defined Servant figure back into the Gospel of Matthew [et al.], inadvertently performing a largely Protestant canonical reading of the Gospel while attempting to do history-critical exegesis' (2009a, 189). This is not to say that 'allusions to the so-called Servant Songs' are not to be found; 'the question concerns significance' (190).

28 See Huizenga 2009a; 2009b. Cf. also Ringe 2012, who argues for a 'reconfiguring of the Akedah' in Mark; and Novick 2007, who argues for the Akedah as a narrative framework in Tobit.

29 For some examples of these themes, see *Jub.* 18:18–19; *Sacr.* 110; *L.A.B.* 18:5; 32:1d–4; and the works of Huizenga listed above. See also Vermes's earlier treatment of Isaac's memory in the first century (1973).

Finally, positing an Isaac background for the interpretation of v. 29 is the most satisfying option because of how all the other proposed meanings/referents fall directly into place. As may be seen: if Isaac was traditionally associated with Passover, then he was also associated with the Passover Lamb;³⁰ if Isaac was associated with atonement and the place where all subsequent sacrifices took place, then these sacrifices would also be in view;³¹ and, lastly, if Isaac's willing disposition as he was marked off for sacrifice could be construed as a victory with saving significance, then there was both (i) a powerful precedent for the subversion of an aggregatized meaning (or appeal to an ironic image of the warrior lamb) and (ii) ready reason to align Isaac (the father of Jacob/Israel who willingly sacrifices himself) with the Suffering Servant (who also represents Jacob/Israel and voluntarily offers himself as a sacrifice).³²

In sum, although the question of the FE's lamb language will persist, there is sufficient reason to affirm the possibility that Jesus is being recast as a new Isaac in 1:29 and 36.³³ In particular, this typology enables the FE to prefigure how Jesus, as a new Adam/Israel figurehead, will reconstitute a new humanity for himself and effect eschatological victory.

Be this what it may, as 'The Testament' gives way to 'The Recognition', the notion is reinforced that Jesus has indeed come as a new Adam/Israel and therefore locus of God's presence in the world specifically to establish a new Jacob/Israel who will also come to represent God's presence in the world.

30 For a full-scale argument that Jesus is systematically portrayed as Passover Lamb in the FG, see Porter 1994. Cf. also Stibbe 1994, 36–8; Koester 2008, 113–16. The difference in 'lamb' terms between FG and other sources should not create a problem. *Ἀμνός*, 'lamb', was frequently used in parallel to *πρόβατον*, 'sheep' (cf. Acts 8:32; EDNT, 288) and could denote a particular kind of sheep—viz. a young one, about a year old (EDNT, 288). Cf. Gen 30:40; Lev 14:10; Num 15:11; Deut 14:4; 2 Chr. 35:7–8; Isa 53:7. The use of synonyms in oral traditional contexts is also to be expected. See again section 3.2.2 above.

31 As stated by Huizenga: 'Vermes thinks that the association of the temple and Akedah makes the latter the ground of the sacrificial rites of the former, as all expiatory sacrifices "depended upon the virtue of the Akedah, the self-offering of that Lamb whom God had recognized as the perfect victim of the perfect burnt offering"' (Huizenga 2009a, 83). Cf. Vermes 1973, 193.

32 On the problem of the 'Servant' in Second Isaiah, see Brueggeman 1998, 13 (in essence, 'the servant appears to *be* Israel, but also have a mission *to Israel*'). For the argument that the FE has taken Isaac as a 'prototype' of the 'Suffering Servant', and that the two have therefore been merged in Jesus, see Rosenberg 1965.

33 The same conclusion is reached by G. R. Greene 2010, except that he does not entertain the possibility that the variety of other meanings for lamb are effectively absorbed into the figure of Isaac. See especially 157–8.

This follows from indications that Jesus' gathering of a new community in 'The Recognition' has been designed by the FE as a highly ideological reconfiguration and resignification of the story of Jacob/Israel at Bethel.

As may be remembered, Jacob's experience at Bethel was memorably characterized with reference to a 'stone' (λίθος) upon which he laid his head prior to dreaming of the angels 'ascending and descending' upon a stairway or ladder (or, in some traditions, on Jacob) connecting heaven and earth (Gen 28:10–12).³⁴ It is in this place that the LORD affirms that the promises made to Abraham for land, progeny, and blessing to the nations equally apply to Jacob (vv. 13–15). Jacob wakes up from his dream and recognizes that the place where he has slept is none other than the place of God's presence and revelation, the 'gate of heaven' (ἡ πύλη τοῦ οὐρανοῦ), and so he names it 'Bethel', the 'house of God' (vv. 16–18). Jacob also anoints the 'stone' on which he has slept and declares it 'the house of God' (vv. 18, 22), later monumentalizing it as an altar (35:7). God then renames Jacob 'Israel' and promises that he will father 'a community of nations and kings' (βασιλεῖς) (v. 11). The story, then, is fundamentally about the locus of God's presence and glory that will be mediated through his culturally-centred people, Jacob/Israel, his agents of blessing in the world. This story, as Waetjen points out, was a highly popularized story throughout the Second Temple period precisely because it was an aetiological legend designed to legitimize sacred places or axis mundi. Put most simply, Jacob's anointed 'stone' at Bethel became 'translated' into an altar, and then a tabernacle, and then a temple, and then another temple in Jerusalem, which had just been sacked. Thus, it would have been a most important story to resignify in accordance with the new (or more primal) axis mundi theology that was being propounded.³⁵

Accordingly, having just stated that Jesus is the one upon whom the Spirit 'abides' (μένω) and who will 'baptize with the Spirit' (v. 33), the FE contours Jesus' first encounter with his first disciples to key into the central thematics of this seminal story of Jacob at Bethel. In what appears to be highly deliberate language, for example, and prior to renaming Simon 'Cephas' or 'Peter', meaning 'Rock', the initial words spoken by Jesus' first two disciples comprise a question about where Jesus abides (μένω) (v. 38). Jesus' reply is a classic instance of Johannine double-entendre: ἔρχεσθε καὶ ὁψεσθε. On the one hand, Jesus' words form an invitation that is immediately fulfilled (v. 39). On the other hand, his invitation harbours a promise for future insight—ὁψεσθε—'you

34 See discussions in Brown 1966, 1:90; Ashton 2007, 245.

35 Waetjen 2005, 315.

will see'.³⁶ Furthermore, as the informed listener/reader of the FG will recognize, by signalling to the language of 'abiding/remaining', the FE is not only looking backwards to what was said about the Spirit who 'abides' on Jesus; he is also looking forward to the multi-layered theme of coinherence that will be developed as the Gospel proceeds. Indeed, the truth that the disciples of Jesus 'will come to see' as they continue to journey with Jesus is that the place where he 'abides' is not only in the 'bosom of the Father',³⁷ but in the disciples themselves. Not least, Jesus will abide in them in and through the same Spirit who 'abides' (μένει) in/on him.³⁸ Once again, and in accord with the latent message of the prologue, the FE is indicating that it is not in *places* anymore that the Spirit and glory of God will 'abide' (μένει). Instead, in fulfillment of God's protological and eschatological purposes, the Spirit/glory of God will now abide in *people*, beginning in Jesus, to be continued later in his own 'progeny'.³⁹

Consequently, the 'stone' at Bethel that originally signified the locus of God's presence and glory among Israel is resignified around the person who will most conspicuously come to represent Jesus' new community in the future (see 21:1–17). Simon is renamed Κηφᾶς, meaning Πέτρος, 'Rock' (1:41).⁴⁰ Notably, Simon receives this new name in trust. As with the first two disciples, who are promised that they will see (ὄψεσθε), Simon is promised that he will be called (κληθήσῃ) the 'Rock'.⁴¹ As will be disclosed in 1:51, and then more explicitly throughout the Gospel, Peter's renaming and resignification as the Bethel-presence of God on earth must come later because, until Jesus departs, the Spirit will not be imparted; until the Spirit is imparted, Jesus will remain the sole centrifuge of God's presence and glory on earth. For the time

36 Notably, it is the same promise voiced in Isaiah 40:5 (and perhaps evoked in John 1:23) in connection with the 'voice of one crying in the wilderness: "Then the glory of the LORD (ἡ δόξα κυρίου) shall be revealed (ὁφθήσεται), and πάντα σὰρξ shall see it (ὄψεται) together'.

37 1:18. Cf. 10:30, 38; 14:10, 11, 20; 15:10; 17:21.

38 14:17, 25; 15:4–7, 9–10. See also Koester 2008, 136; and Schneiders 2005, 182–89, who argues that the concept of abiding or coinherence more generally is a central emphasis of the resurrection narrative in John 20, and has been designed to show that Jesus' disciples are now the new temple of God on earth. We will return to this theme on p. 251 below.

39 4:40; 6:56; 8:31, 35; 14:10, 7; 15:4–7. Cf. the same point in Wright 2003, 3:446.

40 See comment in Schnackenburg 1968, 311–12.

41 Simon's naming must be taken as a 'prolepsis', indicating that 'something will happen to Simon' (Moloney 1993, 69). Likewise Wallace, 569; Schnackenburg 1968, 311. This future orientation is underlined by the fact that Simon's renaming takes place within a tradition where frequently *nomen est omen* (see, e.g., Sternberg 1985, 329–33; Marks 1995).

being, therefore, and until the Spirit is poured out, Jesus himself is the only 'Bethel-Rock'.⁴²

Besides the reasons just noted,⁴³ the notion that Peter's renaming is intended proleptically to associate him with the stone at Bethel, and also begin a more extended resignification of Jesus' disciples as a new Jacob-Israel, is reinforced as Peter fades into the background and the 'true' 'Israelite' in whom there is 'no guile' and who is promised to see 'angels of God ascending and descending' takes centre stage (vv. 43–51). The connections between these descriptions of Nathanael and the Jacob at Bethel story are strong and have been well documented, and I will say more about them momentarily. It is worthwhile first to observe, however, how Philip's introductory christological declaration to Nathanael in v. 45 may underscore the notion that Jesus has specifically come to reconstitute Israel around himself as God's new eschatological temple in the world.

Mary Coloe has made the fascinating argument that Jesus' identity in early Christian circles as 'the Nazarene' or one from 'Nazareth' may well be related to messianic expectations of God's eschatological temple-builder. This is true, she reasons, because in addition to excavations that have 'shown that that the word "Nazareth" has its root meaning in the word "branch" (*netser*) describing the future royal branch from the house of David', both Isaiah (11:1) and Zechariah (6:11–13) refer to eschatological figures as the 'branch'. Furthermore, despite the fact that Isaiah uses the term *netser* and Zechariah uses the alternative *semah*, 4QFlor col 1, 11 and 4QpGen col 5, 3–4 demonstrate that 'by the time of the Qumran writings, the two terms *semah* and *netser* were synonymous and

42 It may be doubted that the innocent renaming of Simon would serve to key into the memory of Jacob at Bethel. Several interlocking factors help lessen this doubt. First, Peter was a leader of monumental significance in the early church, giving him a weighty representative significance. Second, Peter is the only person renamed by Jesus in the NT, a fact that would seem to invest the action with a redoubled significance. Third, the FE places this renaming of Peter, as with the temple incident, at the *front* of his gospel, in contrast to the Synoptics, a dischronology that begs for explanation (as noted by Pryor 1992, 15)—and perhaps an explanation in line with the temple incident itself, i.e. in accord with the cultic replacement/fulfillment theme (cf. Wright 1996, 2:338, see n. 84). Fourth, although the future being predicted of Simon could be that he will be a metaphorical 'rock' in the sense of having an unshakable character, this meaning does not fit in with the context of the FG at this point (*pace* Blaine 2007, 36), which is clearly focused on the concept of the renewal of God's people and the locus of God's revelation in the world (cf. Giesler 2008, 98–103). Seventh, Peter's renaming is simply the *beginning* of a keying into this story, and so its significance gains force retrospectively.

43 See n. 42 above.

the man named “Branch” who will build the temple of the Lord according to Zech 6, has been identified as the messianic shoot of David.⁴⁴

Naturally, this background makes Philip’s announcement to Nathanael immediately on the heels of Jesus’ renaming of Simon as the future locus of God’s Bethel-presence most interesting: ‘We have found him about whom Moses in the law and also the prophets wrote, Jesus son of Joseph from Nazareth’. Although it is doubtless that the descriptions of Jesus as ‘son of Joseph’ and ‘from Nazareth’ are personal identifiers,⁴⁵ it is also possible, that this description is doing double duty. Specifically, it is possible that Jesus is identified as a Nazarene because the FE wants to insinuate that Jesus’ role as God’s eschatological temple-builder is coterminous with his role as the founder of a new Adam/Israel.⁴⁶

There is also the possibility that the description of Jesus as the ‘son of Joseph’ is doing double duty. As discussed in Chapter 4, God’s promise to Jacob at Bethel includes the promise that ‘kings’ will come from him, a promise that first materializes in the extraordinary story of Joseph, who, despite being rejected and presumed dead by his brothers, becomes a life-giving cultic centrepoint on behalf of the whole world.⁴⁷ The narrative arc of the FG recapitulates a similar story about Jesus. Although hearing memories of Joseph in Philip’s description may seem fanciful, the potential of this evocation gains traction from external considerations, in the recognition that other texts exhibit messianic hope for a ‘son of Joseph’,⁴⁸ and from internal considerations, within 2:1–11.⁴⁹

Whatever might be made of some of these more tenuous connections, Jesus’ descriptions of Nathanael certainly appear to function as a compacted form of *synkrisis*: Nathanael, as well as those that he represents,⁵⁰ is God’s new Jacob/Israel in the world. Nathanael, unlike Jacob, is said to be without δόλος, ‘guile’ (v. 47; cf. Gen 27:35). But Nathanael, like Jacob who was renamed

44 Coloe 2009, 378, 379.

45 Because people were identified in antiquity by patronymic and place.

46 Again, several elements of the John 13–20 will reinforce this understanding. See section 7.2.3.3 below.

47 See p. 138 above.

48 As Charlesworth observes, the portrayal of the Messiah who is *both* ‘the son of Joseph, and a Messiah who is son of David’ is in 3 *Enoch* 45:5 OTP I, xxxii), albeit the dating of this work may be quite late (see OTP I, 225–9).

49 I will return to this on p. 304 below.

50 As many commentators point out, the ‘you’ of v. 51 is plural, indicating that Nathanael is a representative figure.

‘Israel’ after encountering God at Peniel and Bethel, is called ‘a true Israelite’ (Ἰσραηλίτης).⁵¹

Jesus’ follow-up description about seeing this Israelite ‘under the fig tree (συκῆν)’ (v. 48)’ has been much disputed.⁵² That this figure could be easily associated with the idea of Nathanael as a new Jacob/Israel need not be disputed, for, as Lincoln observes, Israel is frequently referred to as God’s ‘fig tree (συκῆν)’ in scripture.⁵³ The more intriguing possibility is that this image has alternatively or *also* been designed to suggest that Nathanael, who has already been identified as a new Jacob/Israel (v. 47), and who will momentarily be promised a dream-vision like Jacob’s at Bethel (vv. 50–51), is characterized as a true Israelite/new Jacob in the world at least partly because he was eagerly awaiting the fulfillment of the eschatological promises specifically given to Jacob at Bethel: that is, promises for land, progeny, blessing for blessing, and, not least of all, kings (βασιλεῖς). Being ‘under a fig tree’ could certainly bear this referential payload, as the eschatological *summum bonum* for the Israelite could be characterized as that time when each person in Israel would ‘sit under his own vine and fig (συκῆς)’, perhaps in some quarters understood as a veritable return to Eden.⁵⁴ At that time, once the fig trees and vines were plush with fruit, the wine would flow in abundance (cf. 2:1–11).⁵⁵ Nathanael’s immediate recognition in v. 49, then, that Jesus is the ‘Son of God’ and βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ may be taken to link Nathanael’s eschatological hopes—his being ‘under the fig tree’—with its realization in Jesus: the ultimate βασιλεὺς promised to Jacob/Israel at Bethel.⁵⁶

Additionally, if overtones of divinity may be heard in the ‘Son of God’ title,⁵⁷ it may be suspected that Nathanael is also being portrayed as seeing the very

51 Notably, this is the only time ‘Israelite’ is used in the FG amidst a good deal of talk about ‘the Jews’. Wayne Meeks comments: ‘Quite possibly there lies behind this usage a polemical situation in which Christians, over against Jewish opponents, call themselves “the true Israel”’ (quoted in Ashton 2007, 166).

52 See comments in Brown 1966, 1:83.

53 See Jer 8:13; Hos 9:10; Mic 7:1; Mark 11:12–14; and the comment in Lincoln 2005, 121.

54 As suggested by the presence of figs in Gen 3:7. Cf. also Num 13:23; 20:5; Deut 8:8; 1 Ki 2:46; 2 Ki 18:31; 1 Macc 14:12; Ps 104:33; Hos 2:14; 9:10; Mic 4:4; Joel 2:22; Hab 3:17; Hag 2:19; Zech 3:10; Isa 36:16; Jer 8:13; or in the NT, Matt 21:19–21; 24:32; Mark 11:13, 20–21; 13:28; Luke 21:29.

55 See n. 64 below.

56 Cf. a similar suggestion in Waetjen 2005, 314.

57 As suggested, for example, in Brown 1966, 1:88.

LORD that Jacob himself saw at Bethel (Gen 28:13).⁵⁸ Not only is Nathanael going to receive the fulfillment of the material blessings of the covenant, therefore, but he is already receiving the fulfillment of the highest blessing that could be asked for (a vision of God), even if he is at the moment unaware of it. That he will become aware of it is apiece with Jesus' promise in v. 51: Nathanael, as those he represents, will come to see that the fulcrum of glory in the world now is located in the person of Jesus, the new Bethel, the 'Son of Man'—the one whom the prologue has already taught is the unique God-Man filled with the glory of God.⁵⁹

Why the FE introduces 'Son of Man' language at this point, and especially with reference to Jacob's dream-vision, has been a subject of endless disquisition and will certainly not be settled here. The argument typically swings on the question of whether the language should be read in accord with texts like Psalm 8, which underline the humanity of Jesus as God incarnate (i.e. the 'son of $\square\tau\alpha\varsigma$ '); or whether the language should be read in accord with texts like Daniel 7, which would appear to underline the divinity or exalted status of Jesus as the heavenly man descended from heaven to earth.⁶⁰ Recent scholarship seems largely to have settled on this latter option.⁶¹

It may be suggested, however, that if the art of the FE's framing is given its due, and the penultimate end of this first macrostructural heptad is viewed in light of its beginning, then it is probable that both meanings are in view. The prologue introduces the Logos as a complex, bifold figure. More particularly, whereas the Logos is presented in vv. 1–13 as a preexistent, heavenly

58 This is the unambiguous point of vv. 50–51 according to Carson: 'What the disciples are promised is what Jacob saw, viz. Jesus himself' (1991, 163).

59 On the controversies surrounding v. 51 and the variety of solutions posed, see Brown 1966, 1:90–1. While not settling on any one interpretation for this verse, Brown is nevertheless right when he adds that 'in the theme that [these variations] have in common they are probably correct; whether it is the ladder, the *Shekinah*, the *merkabah*, Bethel, or the rock, the vision means that Jesus as Son of Man has become the locus of divine glory, the point of contact between heaven and earth' (91). Also see Lincoln 2005, 122; Ashton 2007, 251.

60 For a sampling of positions and the tension felt in trying to decide upon one of these two positions, cf. Morris 1971, 172–73; Carson 1991, 164. On the argument that Daniel 7 only appears (under the convention of apocalyptic) to speak about a duly heavenly man, but is actually about an earthly 'man' who represents Israel and in whom Israel is symbolically 'summed up', see Wright 1992, 1:291–97.

61 See, for example, the recent monograph by Reynolds 2008. Also cf. the conclusion of Ashton, who claims that incarnation themes are not in view in v. 51 because—although it would be obvious to draw a connection to 1:14 at this point, especially in light of certain heavenly-Israel-become-Jacob traditions—the text does not do so (Ashton 2007, 247–8).

figure, likely to be understood as the primordial, anthropomorphic glory of God, vv. 14–18 presents the Logos become flesh as one fully identified with humanity as a new Adam and/or representative of Adamic humanity. This bifold presentation of Jesus matches the meaning inherent in ‘Son of Man’ language as it exists in Jewish tradition. Thus, it would seem that we are justified in suspecting that the FE has gravitated to Son of Man language at the end of his first major heptad precisely because of the way this designation expresses implicitly what the prologue expresses more fully: Jesus is both the ‘Son of Man’ in the sense of a transcendent heavenly ‘Man’, *and* the ‘Son of Man’ in the sense of a new representative Adam.⁶²

The climax and turning point of the seventh unit in 2:1–11 certainly seems to support this understanding. For as demonstrated in Chapter 4, there was the expectation in various Jewish traditions that the coming of a truly glorious human and/or representative of Israel after the stature of the original Adam would entail the consummation of history. Accordingly, because this *Urzeit* has arrived in Jesus, so does the *Endzeit*—which effects a veritable return to a new *Urzeit*: the FE tells us that this was Jesus’ ἀρχὴ sign (2:11; cf. 1:1).⁶³ Suggestively, he who was sitting under the fig tree in anticipation of Israel’s representative king now receives a foretaste of what it represents. To be sure, as a sign of the new age foreseen by the prophets, Jesus turns a great deal of water into vintage wine at a wedding, a fairly unambiguous symbol of Israel’s Divine Husband betrothing his beloved in the sort of wine-soaked atmosphere anticipated of the new age.⁶⁴ Jesus’ production of wine specifically in the Jews’ purificatory jars may also be significant, for herein we see that the old symbols

62 Although on different grounds, Dodd argued for this link already in 1953 (see Dodd 1953, 296). For the proposition that Daniel’s ‘Son of Man’ language may have been modeled after *Enoch’s* ‘New Adam’ motif (ch. 90), and that this understanding may have extended into the early church’s use of the title, see the recent argument of Joseph 2013a. Although his application is broader, Carson also believes that the FE gravitated to Son of Man language specifically because the language ‘lay ready to hand as an expression that could be filled with precisely the right content’ (Carson 1991, 164).

63 As Carson suggests (1991, 175), it is possible that the FE deliberately links Jesus ‘first’ (ἀρχὴν) sign with memories of the ‘beginning’ (ἀρχῆ) in order to suggest the arrival of a new ‘beginning’ (ἀρχῆ), which is to say, the ‘end’ (*telos*)!

64 For example, on the marriage theme, cf. Hos 2:19; Isa 54:5; 62:4–5; 2 Cor 11:2; Rev 19:7; 21:2. On the new age as a time characterized by superabundant wine, see Amos 9:11–15; Joel 3:17–18; Isa 25:6–9. On the whole, see the excellent discussion in Ashton who concurs with Brown that it ‘is right to stress the significance of the wedding-feast, the most natural possible symbol of joy, fulfillment, and the promise of new life’ (Ashton 2007, 176). ‘The Book of Revelation’, he continues, ‘actually speaks of ‘the marriage of the Lamb’ (Rev 19.7), and

of purification are replaced with a symbol of joy—no doubt because the true and ultimate purifier of the human race has come.⁶⁵

In terms of advancing specific elements of the scriptural tale beyond or with more specificity than in the first six days, it appears the FE has also made some effort to recast Jesus as a synthesis of Judah, Joseph, and Moses in this climactic day of the first seven. These evocations are subtle, but suggestions of these personages may nevertheless be seen, for example:

- (a) Thematically, as Koester suggests, in the general presentation of Jesus as the Jewish Messiah who is now drenched in wine; this looks very much like the promise to Judah in Genesis 49:10–11 that his victorious heir would ‘rule’ Israel and come (among other things) to ‘wash his garments in wine, his robes in the blood of grapes’.⁶⁶
- (b) In Jesus’ mother’s command to the servants to ὃ τι ἂν λέγῃ ὑμῖν ποιήσατε (2:5), a narratively strange moment that appears to recapitulate ‘Pharaoh’s words in Gen 41:55 instructing people to do whatever Joseph tells them’ (ὃ ἑὸν εἶπῃ ὑμῖν ποιήσατε), a directive that results in the production of plenty amidst poverty.⁶⁷
- (c) In the fact that Jesus’ action of turning ‘water’ into wine is conducted specifically in ‘stone’ jars and referred to as the first ‘sign’ that ‘reveals’ Jesus’ ‘glory’; this constellation of themes is reminiscent of Moses’ first ‘sign’ of turning ‘water’ into ‘blood’ in ‘stone jars’ as a first corporate ‘revelation’ of God’s ‘glory’ through him in Egypt.⁶⁸

The plausibility of these connections accrues force when their anticipatory nature is taken into account. As with the ‘lamb’ references discussed above, Jesus’ action of turning water into wine, like all the ‘signs’, points forward to his climactic action and ‘hour’ of glorification (2:4b). Thus, as a proleptic ‘sign’ of his coming ‘glory’, we see that Jesus can provide plenty amidst poverty like Joseph now, because, once his own deadly rejection by his brothers is

in the Old Testament we have no need to go further than the Song of Songs for proof that the most human of all mysteries could serve as an inspiration for the most divine’.

65 The second chapter of Hosea is particularly interesting with reference to John 2:1–11, since it presents many of the themes found here, as well as several others in the surrounding text of the FG, in a single synthesis. See Hos 2:14–16a, 18a, 21a, 22 (and cf. these passages with Gen 1:20–3).

66 See Koester 1995, 79.

67 Köstenberger 2007, 431. See also Cirafesi 2011, 100–2.

68 More on this link below.

complete, Jesus will be highly exalted above them and made their ironic means of life.⁶⁹ Similarly Jesus can, like Moses, turn water into wine instead of blood now precisely because he will pour out 'blood' and 'water' later, as the reality of a greater revelation of 'glory'.

In sum, it may be seen that over the course of this first macrostructural heptad, the scriptural tale has extended from 'the beginning' to memories of Jacob at Bethel (1:51) and then from Bethel to what is likely to be taken as a replay of Moses' first sign.⁷⁰ In between and amidst these framing poles, Jesus has been shown gathering a new Jacob/Israel around himself, a community whom he promises will become the future site of God's glorious presence on earth—his redeemed Adamic humanity. There are also indications that Jesus himself, who is the supreme locus of God's presence on earth, has been variously depicted by the FE as a new Adam, Isaac, Joseph, and Moses. The first three of these figures are central to the story of Israel's beginnings, and Moses is a transitional character, whereby the family of Jacob/Israel becomes the nation of Jacob/Israel. Moses leads Jacob's family to become this nation, of course, in the highly memorable and commemorated events of the Exodus that lead Israel from Egypt to the threshold of the Promised Land, a series of events unforgettably begun with a series of 'signs' designed to reveal the 'glory' of God.⁷¹

7.2.2 *Seven Signs (chs. 2–12): The New Campaign of Moses*

Due to the length of the Book of Signs and the limitations of the present work, my demonstration of the scriptural tale in this section must be accomplished with a few broad brushstrokes. Perhaps the best way to proceed is to marshal the argument in two steps: first, to show that fundamental themes, features, and/or motifs central to the campaign of Moses within the Pentateuch and various retellings are also central to the Book of Signs; secondly, to show how the same fundamental movements and events, along with clusters of traditional associations that characterized the campaign of Moses, are also the central movements depicted in John 2–12.

It may be observed that seven general themes, features, and/or motifs within the Book of Signs support the notion that Jesus is deliberately stylized as a new Moses.

69 Indeed, as before, what Jesus' brothers purposed for evil God repurposed unto the good. Cf. Ps 105:17–22.

70 Again, more evidence for this will be provided later in this chapter.

71 For an excellent treatment of Moses as a towering figure of memory in Jewish (and indeed world) tradition, see Hendel 2001.

First, as was well commemorated in Jewish scripture and tradition alike, Moses was a man of miraculous ‘signs’ and wonders.⁷² Micah prophesied that God’s deliverance of his exiled people would be presaged by a renewed cycle of Mosaic-like signs (Mic 7:9), and Sirach pleaded for it (Sir 36:4–7).⁷³ Along with vivid popular memories of Moses, this led many revolutionaries in the first century CE to style themselves as new Moseses who would perform ‘signs’ and/or ‘wonders’ before their followers.⁷⁴ Accordingly, in addition to narrating the performance of seven miraculous signs, as demonstrated in Chapter 4 above, the Book of Signs is replete with talk of ‘signs’.⁷⁵ The only other mention of ‘signs’, in fact, is in the closing summary of 20:30.

Secondly, both Jesus’ and Moses’ signs are intimately associated with ‘glory’ and the revelation of God’s person and/or name. As Waltke comments with reference to the Exodus narrative: ‘The stated purpose of multiplying and intensifying the first nine plagues is that Egypt will know that I AM is I AM (ἐγώ εἰμι) (Exod 7.3–5).’⁷⁶ The LORD’s deliverance of Israel through the Red Sea is also explicitly identified with God’s glory or gaining of glory (δόξα/ἐνδοξάζομαι), the climactic revelation of the true and only God.⁷⁷ Ezekiel distinctively remembers God’s acts in Egypt as acts performed *specifically* for ‘the sake of God’s name’, whereby God ‘revealed’ and ‘made himself known’ (ἐγνώρισθην) to Israel—and Ezekiel was certainly not alone in this remembrance.⁷⁸ Sirach underlines Moses’ ministry above all as one of ‘glory’.⁷⁹ It certainly seems significant in this light that: (a) the FG’s seven narrated

72 The evidence for this is extensive. See, e.g., Exod. 3:12; 4:8–9, 17, 28, 30; 7:3, 9; 8:19; 10:1–2; 11:9–10; 12:13; 31:13; Num 14:11, 22; Deut 4:34; 6:22; 7:19; 11:3; 26:8; 28:46; 29:2; 34:11; Neh 9:10; Pss 73:9; 77:43; 104:27; 134:9; Jer 39:20–1; Mic 7:15; Wis 10:16; Sir 36:5; 45:3; Bar 2:11; Acts 7:36; L.A.B. 9:10b, 16b; 10:1; 4Q422, 111 5–13 [A Paraphrase of Genesis and Exodus]; J.W. 5:383; Mos. 2:266; Test. Sol. 25:4; Penitence of Jannes and Jambres 3:8; Ezek. Trag. 1:224–6; Artap. 3:27.

73 The expectation that future deliverance would resemble Israel’s salvation from Egypt was widespread. See discussion in Glasson 1963, 15–19.

74 For examples and discussion, see Horsley 1985, 162–3; Evans 2005, 440; Bauckham 2007, 217–20.

75 John 2:11, 18, 23; 3:2; 4:48, 54; 6:2, 14, 26, 30; 7:31; 9:16; 10:41; 11:47; 12:18, 37.

76 Waltke 2007, 378.

77 Waltke 2007, 385.

78 Ezek 20:5–9. See also Deut 32:6, 18b; 2 Sam 7:23; Isa 63:12–17; L.A.B. X.7.

79 Sirach (45:3) does this in a way that closely resembles the portrait of Jesus as a man of glory in the FG. This thesis was argued by Nijay Gupta at SBL in a seminar paper entitled “Gloria in Profundis: Comparing Jesus and John on the Glory of Jesus and Moses” (November 2012, Chicago). Cf. also Exod 14:13; Num 14:22; Deut 11:3–4; Sir 36:4–7.

signs are explicitly framed in terms of the revelation of Jesus' and God's 'glory', and in a way that clearly anticipates Jesus' final act of liberation/victory/glory on the cross;⁸⁰ (b) Jesus is fourteen times revealed with the aid of God's 'name', ἐγὼ εἰμι, 'I AM' (descriptively and absolutely), within the Book of Signs alone;⁸¹ and (c) Jesus can summarize his entire public ministry at the end of his (so-called) High Priestly prayer by recounting that he has made the Father's name known to the disciples (John 17:25–6).

Thirdly, as Ulrich Mauser has shown, Moses—above all other figures in Jewish tradition—was a man to be 'believed' in on the basis of his 'signs'.⁸² Accordingly, the FE begins a meticulous tracking of 'believing' or 'unbelieving' responses to Jesus and his 'signs' immediately after he turns water into wine (2:11), and then ends Jesus' public ministry on the same note: 'Though he had done so many signs (σημεῖα) . . . they did not believe (ἐπίστευον) in him' (12:37).⁸³ Tellingly, one of Moses' final speeches to the Israelites in Deuteronomy, delivered on the edge of the Jordan just prior to his death, is echoed in John 12:37–50, at the end of the Book of Signs. Moses indicts the people of Israel because, despite the fact that they saw 'miraculous signs (σημεῖα) and great wonders (τὰ τέρατα τὰ μεγάλα ἐκεῖνα)' in Egypt and 'during forty years in the desert', 'the LORD' had not given Israel 'a mind that understands or eyes that see or ears that hear' (see Deut 29:2–6; cf. Num 14:11, 22). To be sure, despite the fact that the LORD 'brought them out of Egypt'—as tradition

80 Cf. 2:11; 11:4, 40; 12:41. This inclusio of glory reveals 'the perspective from which to view all the signs (Lincoln 2005, 131). Cf. Culpepper 2008, 253–4, who insists that 'the distinctive role of the wedding at Cana should not be missed . . . verse 11 suggests that not only this sign but all of Jesus' signs will reveal his glory . . . We may conclude that the changing of water to wine has strong elements of a recognition scene, but it is "bent" or adapted to serve as an introduction to the Johannine *semeia* that will follow'. Culpepper also argues in this paper that each one of the signs is designed to reveal aspects of Jesus' true identity, and not least of all, as in the water-walking, that he is 'I AM' (6:20).

81 John. 4:26; 6:20, 35, 41, 48, 51; 8:12, 24, 28, 58; 10:7, 9, 11, 14; 11:25. And then eight times thereafter: 13:19; 14:6; 15:1, 5; 18:5–6, 8. See discussion on the descriptive 'I AM's' function in the Book of Signs in accord with the story-pattern on p. 325 below.

82 Mauser 2000.

83 Aside from twice in the prologue (1:7, 12) and once with reference to Nathanael (1:50), the theme of 'believing' (πιστεύω) does not figure prominently until John 2:11, whereafter the verb in various forms occurs no less than seventy-two times from here to the end of John 12 (2:22–4; 3:12, 15–16, 18, 36; 4:21, 39, 41–2, 48, 50, 53; 5:24, 38, 44, 46–7; 6:29–30, 35–6, 40, 47, 64, 69; 7:5, 31, 38–9, 48; 8:24, 30–1, 45–6; 9:18, 35–6, 38; 10:25–6, 37–8, 42; 11:15, 25–7, 40, 42, 45, 48; 12:11, 36–9, 42, 44, 46) and then seventeen times thereafter. Although 'believing' is mentioned after the Book of Signs, believing in the context of signs is not mentioned again until the gospel's closing at 20:30.

consistently and formulaically rehearsed it—with his ‘mighty right hand/hand/arm’,⁸⁴ Israel proved to be as obdurate as Pharaoh himself.⁸⁵ Accordingly, in the janus section after Jesus’ seventh sign and rejection by ‘the Jews’, the FE first quotes Isaiah 53:1, ‘Lord, who has believed our message, and to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed?’ (Jn 12:38)—a question that Isaiah himself answers as referring to Israel’s deliverance out of Egypt through Moses (Isa 63:11–19)—and then reports that the result of Jesus’ public ministry was the same as the result endured by Moses, viz. again, ‘although he had performed so many signs (σημεῖα) in their presence, they did not believe in him’ (Jn 12:37). The reason they did not believe, the FE then remarks in a way that links Moses’ words in Deuteronomy 24:2–6 with Isaiah’s later prophecy, is because the LORD ‘has blinded their eyes and hardened their heart, so that they might not look with their eyes, and understand with their heart and turn—and I would heal them’ (Jn 12:40; cf. Isa 6:10).⁸⁶ In this way, the entire Book of Signs recapitulates the boundaries of Moses’ career and with similar associated emphases (signs, glory/revelation/name, believing, obduracy). Once again, this sort of bounding and thematic interpenetration comports with the sort of framing characteristic of oral traditional compositions.

Fourthly, Moses is consistently remembered in Jewish tradition as the one who had been ‘sent’ by God,⁸⁷ a token of commissioning that is central to the FE’s portrayal of Jesus: he is also the ‘sent’ one.⁸⁸

Fifthly, both Moses and Jesus are threatened with death and stoning by the very people they are trying to save.⁸⁹

Sixthly, if a relationship or influence may be posited between the FG and Johannine Apocalypse, the FE’s seven ‘signs’ may be seen as the inversion of the Johannine Apocalypse’s sets of seven ‘plagues’, also believed by scholars to be creatively patterned after Moses ‘signs’ in Egypt.⁹⁰

84 Cf., e.g., Exod 15:6, 12 (2x); Pss 89:13; 136:11–12; Dan 9:15; 2 Macc 2:8.

85 Cf. Exod 4:21; 7:3; 14:4, 17; 1 Sam 6:6; Ps 95:8; Isa 63:17; Rom 9:18; Heb 3:8, 15; 4:7.

86 The FE’s deliberate linkage of Isa 6:10 and Deut 29:4 is plausibly seen in his conflating of Deut 29:4’s ‘the LORD has not given you’ to Isaiah’s prophecy, wherein the LORD is not explicitly (if at all) identified as the cause of Israel’s obduracy.

87 See, e.g., Exod. 3:13–15; 4:13, 28; 5:22; Num 16:28; Jos. 24:5; 1 Sam 12:8; Ps 105:26; Isa 63:12; Mic 6:4; Acts 7:35.

88 John 3:34; 4:34; 5:23–4, 30, 36–8; 6:29, 38–9, 44, 57; 7:16, 18, 28–9, 33; 8:16, 18, 26, 29, 42; 9:4; 10:36; 11:42; 12:44–5, 49; 13:20; 14:24; 15:21; 16:5; 17:3, 8, 18, 21, 23, 25; 20:21.

89 Cf. Exod. 17:4; Num 14:10; John 5:16; 7:1, 23, 30, 44; 8:20, 40, 59; 10:31, 39; 11:53; 12:10.

90 See, e.g., Caird 1966, 113–16; Ford 1975, 259–75; Osborne 2002, 339–40.

Seventhly, the FE's decision to reconfigure Moses' ten signs into seven signs was not unprecedented.⁹¹ Both Psalm 78:43–51 and the Wisdom of Solomon 11–19 present only seven signs. Further, not only did the author of the Wisdom of Solomon reconfigure Moses' ten signs into a set of seven, but he did so, like the FE, in a distinctively six-plus-one format, making the seventh the climactic sign.⁹² Even more, in addition to showing creative liberty by making the drowning in the sea the seventh sign (instead of the death of the firstborn), the Wisdom of Solomon shows that the 'signs' of Moses could be radically reimagined. To be sure, each deadly or dark sign enacted against the Egyptians is counterpoised by a good sign for Israel in the wilderness. For example, whereas all the drinkable water was made undrinkable for the Egyptians, as a signature of God's judgment, undrinkable or non-existent water is made available for Israel, as a signature of God's love (Wis 11:5–14).⁹³ This imaginative transformation of the Mosaic signs supports the notion, despite a fair bit of scholarly incredulity, that Jesus' first sign in 2:1–11 is plausibly understood as a positive reconfiguration of Moses' first sign.⁹⁴ It is from this pregnant point of departure, I am claiming, that Jesus is shown to recapitulate the broad outlines as well as select features of the campaign of Moses.

7.2.2.1 John 2–3 The New Rescue

As was exceptionally well commemorated in the Pentateuch and later summaries of Israel's story, Moses' public career begins with his first sign of turning of water into wine in Egypt and ends with his passing of the mantle to

91 Counting tens signs despite the turning of Moses' staff into a snake was common in the first century. See, e.g., *J. W.* 5:383; *L.A.B.*, x.1.

92 See Clark 1983, who claims that 'the Gospel according to John is laid out according to the same basic pattern as the *relecture* of Exodus... in Wisdom 11–19, viz., seven (six-plus-one) *semeia*, with the seventh sign both fulfilling and surpassing the first six which point to it' (205). I am not claiming or denying the possibility of literary dependence here, but only noting the use of similar compositional conventions.

93 'For through the very things by which their enemies were punished, they themselves were benefited in their need. Instead of the perennial spring of a river, stirred up by defiled blood... you unexpectedly gave them abundant water' (Wis 11:5–7).

94 See, e.g., Ashton (2007, 171), following Haenchen, who considers the suggestion that Jesus' first sign echoes Moses' first sign to be part of the thick scholarly 'bracken' surrounding the interpretation of Jesus' first sign. But cf. Caird 1966, 113–14, who argues that Moses' first sign of turning water into blood against the Egyptians is also given a 'new symbol' in the Johannine Apocalypse. It is also worth mentioning that this first sign of Moses was apparently well known by those who did retell the story of Israel in various forms. See, e.g., Pss 78:44; 105:29; Wis 11:5–13; Ezek. Trag. 132–4.

Joshua 'in the desert', 'across the Jordan' on the threshold of the Promised Land.⁹⁵ Similarly, Jesus ministry of 'signs' begins with the transformation of water into wine and ends with him going 'back across the Jordan' (10:40) and then (after raising Lazarus) out 'near the wilderness' (11:54). Once again, this kind of mimetic framing is a most suggestive indication of deliberate patterning in oral traditional cultures, wherein the 'bones' of narratives provided the tacit infrastructure around which 'flesh' could be placed.

In terms of what is placed within this framing, it may be observed that in the Exodus narrative, 'Summaries of Israel's Stories', and Rewritten Bible texts which enumerate Moses' signs *in Egypt* (i.e. excluding for the moment the 'signs' performed in the wilderness),⁹⁶ the recounting of signs before Israel's passage through the Sea begins with Moses' turning water into blood and ends with the death of Egypt's firstborn sons along with lambs on Passover.⁹⁷ Ezekiel the Tragedian shows how endemic was this ordering, having God iterate the 'first' and 'last' signs explicitly.⁹⁸ In a way that appears artlessly to reproduce these memorable bookends, Jesus' first sign of turning water in wine (2:1–11) is immediately followed by his action in the Temple (2:12–24), an episode suggestively sandwiched between twin references to the Passover (2:13, 23).

As one peeks into the details of this temple incident, it is striking to observe that, unlike the Synoptics which only mention 'doves' and/or 'doves and pigeons', and say nothing of Jesus clearing out the animals,⁹⁹ the FE opens his narrative by mentioning that Jesus clears out (or commands to be cleared out) 'doves' as well as 'cattle and sheep' (βόας καὶ πρόβατα) (2:14). Instructively, besides appearing to be symbolically placed by the FE,¹⁰⁰ both of these animals (or herds) figure prominently in the Exodus narrative, first as that which must be brought out with the Israelites from Egypt, and then—as is their

95 See Num 32:5, 29, 32; 33:51; 35:10; Deut 2:29; 3:27; 4:21f; 9:1; 11:31; 12:10; 31:2; Josh 1:2, 11, 14; 3:14.

96 On the miracles in the wilderness also being referred to as signs of Moses in the first century, see Bauckham 2007, 217–18.

97 See, e.g., Exod 7:14–13:16; Ps 78:44–51; Wis 11–19; L.A.B. 10:1C.

98 'And with this rod these woes you shall effect: now, *first* the river shall flow red with blood, and all the springs, and every stagnant pool. . . . Darkness I'll decree for three whole days, . . . *Last* shall I slay the firstborn of mankind, and thus bring down the wanton pride of men' (Ezek. Trag. 132–4, 144, 147–8, emphasis mine).

99 Cf. Mark 11:15; Matt 21:12; Luke 19:45.

100 Because, as Lincoln humorously points out, sources do not mention these animals and it is exceedingly unlikely that animals like cows were actually in the temple precincts, even at Passover, because 'their excrement would have caused problems of pollution to the sacred sites' (Lincoln 2005, 137).

purpose in the temple incident—with specific reference to sacrifice.¹⁰¹ The πρόβατον, of course, is the central image of the Passover: it is this sacrificial animal that enables Israel's 'firstborn sons' to escape death and experience final deliverance. It would also seem suggestive that Jesus follows up this action of driving out the animals with an allusion to Zechariah 14:20–1 (v. 16b).¹⁰² It is an allusion that helps the FE to underline 'the end of the present temple order and its sacrifices in the expectation of their replacement by the new arrangements appropriate for God's eschatological presence in Jerusalem'.¹⁰³ It is also notable that Jesus personalizes this allusion, replacing Zechariah's generic references about 'the LORD Almighty's house' with 'My Father's house'. The impression created is that, somehow, Jesus is to be understood as the unique Son of his Father. Given that the FE has already twice told us that Jesus is the 'Lamb (ἀμνός) of God (who takes away the sin of the world)' (1:29, 36), and given that the memory of Isaac's Akedah may well be in view in this and other designations, we must ask: would it really be overly fanciful to state that Jesus clears out the other and additionally named would-be sacrifices from the temple precincts at Passover precisely because he—as the Lamb of God and Son of his Father—has indeed come as God's *firstborn* Son and *Passover* Lamb to replace them along with the temple?

The FE's authoritative voiceover in v. 17 that 'the disciples then remembered that it is written: "Zeal for your house *will* consume me"' (Ps 69:9) would seem to support this referential meaning. As has been well recognized, the FE's change of the LXX's aorist κατέφαγεν to the future καταφάγεται is doubtlessly intended to point to Jesus' later 'consumption' as God's righteous sufferer on the cross.¹⁰⁴ Additionally, besides being used generally for the destruction of the wicked, the term for 'consumption' (κατεσθίω) is used in the LXX to express what happens to sacrifices when God takes them from the altar: they are 'consumed'.¹⁰⁵ It is telling, then, that Jesus' own later 'consumption', as will twice be indicated, takes place 'on the day of Preparation'—that is, at the very time when Passover lambs were traditionally sacrificed (John 19:14, 31). This is also why Jesus' bones are left unbroken—because Passover lamb's bones, like God's righteous sufferer, were not to be broken (cf. 19:33, 36). Thus, it is plausible that Jesus' action in the temple, coming as it does immediately after Jesus' first

101 See, e.g., Exod 10:9, 24; 12:32, 38; and 13:13; 20:24; 29:1; 34:19–20.

102 On the validity of seeing v. 16b as an allusion to Zech 14:20–1, see Dodd 1953, 300–1; Lincoln 2005, 138.

103 Lincoln 2005, 138.

104 As concluded, for example, in Menken 1996 (see pp. 37–45 for full discussion).

105 E.g., Lev 9:24; Jdg 6:21; 1 Ki 18:38; 2 Chr 7:1.

Moses-like sign in Cana, could have been heard as a recapitulation of Israel's first Passover in Egypt.

That Israel's first Passover in Egypt was immediately followed by a climactic passage through the Red Sea was an exceptionally well-remembered part of Israel's story. Both in the Exodus narrative and its many retellings, this event is variously remembered as being accompanied by the images of 'water',¹⁰⁶ 'breath/Spirit',¹⁰⁷ and the division between 'light' and 'dark'.¹⁰⁸ It is, in fact, an event that has been carefully patterned after the creation of the world, and so, implicitly, has the imprint of a new creation on it.¹⁰⁹

Perhaps by discerning its graphic and theological analogue to real child-birth, Israel's vivifying passage through the sea is also viewed as a more personal sort of constituting event; it was that liminal period of time when Israel was begotten and betrothed by God. 'Did I conceive all this people? Did I give birth (ἔτεκον) to them, that you should say to me, 'Carry them in your bosom, as a nurse carries a sucking child . . .?' (Num 11:12).¹¹⁰ Perhaps in an attempt to iron out this metaphor, the author of *4 Ezra* imagines the birthing God as mother instead of father: 'Thus says the Lord: I brought this people out of bondage . . . but they would not listen . . . [Thus] the mother who bore them says to them, 'Go, my children, because I am a widow and forsaken' (2:1–2).¹¹¹ As is evident in this passage, the idea that God bore Israel as they passed through the (birth canal of?) the sea is intimately associated to Israel's betrothal as the bride of God. Indeed, for *4 Ezra* the fact that God's children have abandoned their mother leaves God a forsaken widow! This rather strange idea that God gave birth to his own bride at the exodus is also evident in Hosea. 'Plead with your mother', the Lord says with reference to Israel in Hosea 2:2, 'for she is not my wife, and I am not her husband'. Then in the next verse, the Lord declares that unless his bride Israel stops committing adultery against him, 'I will strip

106 E.g., Exod 15:10; Ps 78:13; Neh 9:11; Wis 10:18; *1 En* 89:24–7; Heb 11:29.

107 E.g., Exod 15:8, 10; *L.A.B.* X.5.

108 God's distinction between Israel and the Egyptians and/or God's provision of light to Israel in the desert, 'by day and by night', was a well-remembered feature of Israelite memory. See, e.g., Exod 13:21; 14:19–20; Josh 24:7; Pss 78:14; 105:39; Neh 9:12; *4 Esd* 1:14; Wis 10:17.

109 See, e.g., Gage 1984, 20–1.

110 Or again, 'Is not he your father, who created you, who made you and established you?', Moses asks rhetorically in his penultimate speech in Deuteronomy 32, 'You were unmindful of the Rock that bore you (γεννήσαντά); you forgot the God who gave you birth (τρέφοντός)' (32:6b, 18).

111 For additional texts portraying Israel being 'born' of God, cf. Isa 1:2; 45:4–12; 46:3–9; Jer 2:26–7; Ezek 16:1–9.

her naked and expose her as in the day she was born (γενέσεως) (2:3a).¹¹² It may be suspected that this extraordinary mixture of metaphors is emblematic of a traditional tension of essences. It is otherwise hard to know how or why this language would have developed and been used so freely in a coherence-building literary text.¹¹³ In any event, it is precisely this constellation of images that resurface in John 3, apparently in order to underscore the fact that Jesus has been 'sent' (cf. 3:16) to effect a new exodus deliverance through a new and more turbulent sea.

Prior to exploring this connection, however, it is helpful to observe how the dénouement and transitional verses from the temple episode into John 3 (2:23–5) appear to fit into the pattern we are tracing. Just as Moses' inaugural meeting with God and performance of his first 'signs' before Israel bring up the first and only sustained discussion and responses of 'believing' in the Pentateuch,¹¹⁴ so here in v. 23 the FE's authorial voiceover—'many believed (ἐπίστευσαν) in his name when they saw the signs (σημεῖα) which he did'—bring on the interlacing themes of 'signs' and 'believing' in the FG with a fury. I already mentioned how the themes of 'signs' and 'believing' frame the entire Book of Signs.¹¹⁵ But there appears also to be a more subtle patterning and/or resurfacing of a deeply embedded thematic at this point in the narrative. Moses' signs in Egypt that are resolved in Israel's passage through the Sea are bound by this theme of 'believing'. Israel is said to 'believe' at the beginning of Moses' ministry, when he turns water into blood (Exod 4:1–9, 27–31; cf. 2:11); and then, the theme of believing is not mentioned again until Israel has been delivered through the Sea (14:31). In that text, and with what will prove to be no small dose of ironic narrative foiling, the narrator announces: 'And Israel saw the great work which the LORD did against the Egyptians, and the people feared the LORD; and they believed (ἐπίστευσαν) in the LORD and in his servant Moses'. That this rare note of belief in the LORD and in Moses proves to be a narrative foiling is evinced immediately in the desert when Israel shows by their actions that they neither truly trust Moses nor the LORD.

112 This blend of imagery is also evident in Ezekiel 16, where Israel's birth (vv. 3–6) gives way to Yahweh's betrothal of Israel (vv. 7–14), Israel's 'prostitution', running after other lovers (vv. 14–26), Yahweh's resolution to relinquish his 'adulterous wife' to her lovers (vv. 27–59), and Yahweh's promise to betroth her in forgiveness once again (vv. 60–3).

113 See again discussion in section 3.2.2.1 above.

114 Cf. Exod 4:1, 5, 8 (2×), 9, and v. 31 against only three occurrences of the verb in Genesis (15:6; 42:20; 45:26), and six in the rest of the Pentateuch (Exod 14:31; 19:9; Num 14:11; 20:12; Deut 9:23; 28:66). Tellingly, two of these—Exod 14:31 and Num 14:11—refer to Israel's 'believing/not believing' responses to Moses' signs'.

115 See again n. 83 above.

This theme's purchase on collective memory is also made explicit in the Psalmist's virtuoso retelling of Israel's story in Psalm 78. Weaving back and forth through Israel's past to recount all of the 'signs' and 'wonders' wrought by God in Egypt and throughout Israel's wilderness period, the Psalmist decries the fact that—despite all of these signs, and despite God's mighty act of delivering Israel through the sea—Israel refused to 'believe'.¹¹⁶

Intriguingly, then, after Jesus' first sign with water into wine that produces the disciples' first note of belief (2:11), and after the performance of more (unnarrated) signs at Passover (v. 23), those who see him doing these signs, just like Israel to Moses and the LORD, 'believe (ἐπίστευσαν) in his name (ὄνομα)'. Jesus' response to their belief, however, appears to profile his foreknowledge that, in essence, exactly what happened to Moses and the LORD after delivering Israel out of Egypt through the sea is about to happen to him as well. This is why Jesus does not 'entrust (ἐπίστευεν) himself to them' when they 'believe' (ἐπίστευσαν) (v. 24). The FE does not yet make explicit the problem of impending unbelief. Instead, and no doubt in order to draw the puzzled listener further into his narrative to encounter Jesus for themselves, we are enigmatically told that Jesus does not entrust himself to them because he 'knows all things (πάντας)', and, more specifically, he 'knew what was in an ἄνθρωπος (v. 25).

This riddling, transitional statement in 2:25 is undoubtedly designed to make the reader/hearer ask: Yes, but what is 'in a man'? Then, as one listens to Jesus' initially baffling discussion with the ἄνθρωπος, Nicodemus in 3:1–21, the answer is given. What is in a man is the dangerous presumption of knowledge. More specifically, what is in a man—and perhaps especially for the Johannine community in a man like Nicodemus who represents the ruling (and oppositional) Jewish elite¹¹⁷—is the dangerous presumption to know what the salvation of God must look like. Nicodemus thinks he 'knows' on the

116 Israel's repeated failure to 'trust/believe' God and 'keep covenant' with him, says the Psalmist is traceable to the fact that Israel 'forgot what [God] had done, and the wonders that he had shown them' (v. 11). The Psalmist hammers on this theme throughout his Psalm, while enumerating the grievances: Israel forgot the miracles of God 'in the land of Egypt' (v. 12), how he 'divided the sea and led them through' (v. 13), 'guided them with the cloud by day and with light from the fire all night' (v. 14), 'split the rocks' (v. 15), 'made water flow down like rivers' (v. 16b), 'rained down manna' (v. 24), and 'meat' (v. 27), 'redeemed them from the oppressor' (v. 42), and, again, 'displayed miraculous signs (σημεῖα) in Egypt' (v. 43). Despite all of these awesome acts, puzzles the Psalmist, '[Israel] did not believe (ἐπίστευσαν) in God or trust in his deliverance (σωτήριον)' (v. 22); to be sure, 'in spite of his wonders they did not believe (ἐπίστευσαν)' (v. 32b).

117 On Nicodemus and Jesus as representative figures in John 3, see the discussion in Lincoln 2005, 148.

basis of Jesus' 'signs' that, perhaps like Moses, Jesus is a 'teacher' who has 'come from God' and whom 'God is with' (3:2).¹¹⁸ Jesus does not deny it. But these designations do nothing to indicate the kind of teacher from God that Jesus is and, more particularly, what kind of salvation Jesus has come to bring and especially *how*. Nicodemus no doubt would have his own ideas about what sort of salvation the Jewish Messiah should bring; but these ideas, as his coming at nightfall perhaps indicates (3:2), do not include notions of deliverance by means of a crucified Messiah (2:19; 3:14). Nicodemus is not yet enlightened. Thus, it is dangerous for him, as anyone else, to presume to know what Jesus is all about. A radical openness must be exercised, because presumption instead of openness will only lead to incredulity, and then to unbelief, and then, in unbelief, to judgment and death (vv. 15–21).

And what accounts for this chain of responses leading to death? Why will one surely die? It is because, as Jesus skillfully reveals to Nicodemus in 3:3–21, Jesus himself, who is later 'shamefully' lifted up like Moses' snake on a cross (3:14), truly is God's new and most glorious exodus moment. Jesus has come to rescue the world from the greatest enemy, sin and death (3:15).¹¹⁹ Thus, as Jesus allusively expresses in vv. 1–8: as Israel of old could only 'see' and enter 'the kingdom of God'¹²⁰ after she was born *ἀνωθεν*—which a reading of Isaiah 45:1–13 suggests may be read most simply (i.e. not exclusively) in terms of God's heavenly intervention 'from above' on behalf of Israel; that is, his decisive saving action of leading Israel through the sea via 'water' and

118 E.g., Exod 3:12; 19:9; 25:22.

119 Again if 'sin' in the FG is a militant ignorance of God, and thus the tenacious embrace of a lie about God (see n. 1039 above), then salvation is the revelation of the truth about God that can break this deadly militancy and lead to new life. Jesus as a new Isaac takes away the sin of the world, precisely because it is in seeing the love of the Father who would give his 'one and only Son' that the truth about God is exposed and human hearts are crushed into newness. Likewise, Jesus' 'sign' to the Jews that he has authority to clean out the temple and establish himself in its place will come when he does what the temple was all-along designed to do: when he reveals the truth and love of God on the cross, giving his life so that others might live (2:18–22). According to John 3, Jesus will be 'lifted up' like the snake for the same reason, because in allowing himself to be crucified for a world that hates him and his Father, the truth about God (i.e. that 'God so loved the world') will be unveiled, and thus God will be 'glorified'. It would appear that the FE gravitates to the 'lifted up' snake here because, again, it fits in most closely with the stage of the scriptural tale being rehearsed at this point in the narrative, just as with Isaac and the Passover Lamb/Firstborn Son fit into the story-pattern more specifically being worked in those places.

120 This is to say, as Israel could only see and enter the reign of God in the Promised Land that lay through the wilderness and beyond the Jordan.

‘spirit’—so must those who want to see and enter the kingdom of God now be born through divine intervention ‘from heaven above’ *again* (ἀνωθεν) (cf. 3:13). In other words, as Israel was ‘born’ (γεννηθῆναι) as God’s child before by ‘water’ (ὕδατος) and ‘Spirit’ (πνεύματος) in the sea, so must people be born of ‘water’ and ‘Spirit’ again (v. 5)—even if this water and Spirit is of the kind envisioned by Ezekiel, which will make Israel God’s new Adamic humanity again.¹²¹ It is this birth that will provide the world with ‘eternal life’ (3:16). To reject this new exodus is to choose to ‘perish’ (ἀπόλλυμι) (v. 16), like all but Joshua and Caleb perished and died in the wilderness.¹²² In fact, to reject this exodus is tantamount, as may be suggested in vv. 19–20, to the same sort of self-condemnation of those among Israel who wanted to go back to the ‘darkness’ and death of Egypt,¹²³ even after being delivered and led onward by God’s ‘light’, that presence in the pillar of fire which originally distinguished Israel from the ‘darkness’ that encompassed the Egyptians.¹²⁴

121 It is helpful to recognize when trying to discern the meaning of Jesus’ puzzling words in 3:1–8 that, as is made clear in vv. 9–12a, nothing Jesus says in vv. 3–9 is meant to be esoteric. This is content that, apparently, Nicodemus as a teacher in Israel should know (v. 10). It is not, as Jesus will clarify in vv. 12b–13, new revelation that someone needed to go into heaven or, alternatively, come down from heaven to teach (cf. Bar 3:24–4:4, esp. 3:28–29 and 3:35–4:1). That heavenly revelation *will* come with a thud in v. 14 when the one who has (and, polemically, only has) engaged in ascents and descents turns to talk about his upcoming ‘lifting up’ like the ‘lifting up’ of Moses’ snake in the desert (again, the how is the greatest mystery). What is shared in vv. 3–9, however, is already-received revelation, ‘earthly’ (v. 12), content that any ‘decent Bible teacher’ should know. And, apparently, what any decent teacher in Israel should have known is that a new exodus was necessary, an exodus not from the slavery of Egypt or Rome but from the more fundamental slavery of sin and death (3:16; cf. 8:31–6), an exodus like that described, for example, by Ezekiel, which included a rebirth by water, spirit, breath, and new flesh, which may well be in view in Jn 3; as argued, for example, by Beale 2011, 569–72. Cf. Ezek 36:25–37:14.

122 See, e.g., Num 3:4; 14:12, 37; 16:33, 49; 20:1, 29; 21:6; 25:9; 26:10, 61; 27:3; 33:38–9; Deut 2:16; 32:50; 34:5.

123 See, e.g., Exod 16:3; Num 14:2; 20:3–5.

124 Cf. the same warning in 1 Cor 10:1–2. As mentioned in n. 108 above, God’s distinction between Israel and the Egyptians and/or God’s provision of light to Israel in the desert, ‘by day and by night’, was a well remembered feature of Israelite memory. Cf. e.g., Exod 13:21; 14:19–20; Josh 24:7; Ps 78:14; 105:39; Neh 9:12; 4 Esd 1:14; Wis 10:17. A programmatic point may be made here. Light and darkness are pervasive images in the FG, and so it would be easy to immediately conclude that their presence at the end of Jesus’ speech to Nicodemus must be taken generically. Moreover, it might be felt that any suggestion of their referring to any specific signified is eclipsed because of their repetition in the FG. But this is, as I showed in Chapter 3, not necessarily true. Particular integers (i.e. the image of light) must be calibrated according to the larger integers in which they take place

Confirmation that the FE is creatively operating with memories of Israel's exodus at this point in his narrative is apparent in John the Baptist's testimony (vv. 24–36). In the first place, the idea of baptism (vv. 22–27) could easily have been—and, in fact, *was*—thought of as an action symbolically mimicking Israel's passage through the sea.¹²⁵ The fact that Jesus is uniquely said to baptize, an activity nowhere mentioned in the Synoptics, is also suggestive: perhaps the Johannine community wanted to make it clear that it was in Jesus that God's new and heavenly-appointed exodus was happening, not in John. It is also noteworthy that the consequence of failing to 'believe' (πιστεύω) in Jesus is once again underlined at the end of the discourse, as it was at the transitional beginning (2:22–4), but this time with reference to God's 'wrath' (ὀργή) (v. 36). The theme of God's 'wrath' (ὀργή) against Israel's stubbornness and unbelief functions as something of a leitmotif in the Pentateuch, and, remarkably, it occurs for the first time in direct connection with the idea of God's having 'brought Israel out of Egypt' (Exod 36:6–12).¹²⁶ This theme also occurs in the retelling of Israel's story in Psalm 78. As the Psalmist weaves back and forth through Israel's story, he not only decries Israel's unbelief despite God's mighty signs and act of delivering Israel through the sea; he also recounts how God responded to Israel's unbelief despite these actions, precisely by letting loose his 'wrath' (ὀργή). In fact, just as God let loose his wrath on the Egyptians through the plagues of Egypt (vv. 49, 50), suggests the Psalmist, so God let loose his 'wrath' (ὀργή) on Israel for their inexplicable unbelief in the face of God's rescue of them through the sea and with signs (vv. 21, 31). Notably, it is only in 3:36 that the FG mentions 'wrath' (ὀργή). This too may be a result of a traditional tension of essences. The FE's informed listeners are being warned: pay attention to what is happening in Jesus, lest you also, just like your ancestors from the wilderness generation, do not make it into the Promised Land.¹²⁷

(i.e. exodus reenactment), for these larger integers function as 'inset maps' for the navigation of meaning. See again pp. 92–93 above.

125 The Israelites whom Moses led out of Egypt, says Paul, 'all were baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea' (1 Cor 10:2).

126 God's ὀργή against the people whom 'he brought up out of Egypt' is repeated three times in Exod 32:6–12. This event is also recounted in Deut 9:16–20. On the theme of God's wrath against Israel being central to the wilderness period, also see Num 11:1, 10; 12:9; 16:22; 17:11; 25:4; 32:14; Ps 78:21, 31, 38, 49–50; 106:23.

127 Paul, of course, issued precisely this warning by appeal to the wilderness generation—who were 'baptized into the cloud and in the sea'...but who 'were 'destroyed'—in 1 Cor 10:1–11: 'These things happened to them to serve as an example, and they were written down to instruct us, on whom the ends of the ages have come' (v. 11).

In summary, in conjunction with (a) Jesus' Moses-like sign of turning water into wine instead of blood, that is immediately followed by (b) an episode staged explicitly at Passover where animals associated with Passover are oddly present only to be evacuated by Jesus who has already been called the lamb of God; and now with (c) this section, wherein the themes and images traditionally associated with Israel's rescue through the sea resurface together, it would seem that we are justified in seeing that Jesus has been deliberately stylized by the FE (from 2:1–3:36) as enacting a new exodus from a new Egypt through a new sea. John 4–12 will continue this episodic patterning by showing how Jesus provides for Israel in a way that is highly reminiscent of Moses'—and, indeed, God's—provision for Israel during the wilderness period.

7.2.2.2 John 4–12 The New Provision to a New Wilderness Generation

As is again well represented in a wide range of Jewish scripture and tradition, Israel's wilderness period is characterized by a series of events and themes that, although they can be presented poetically, circularly, and/or by arranging the themes and events in any order, are stock features of the tradition.¹²⁸ Israel comes through the sea and God begins providing for them: water springs up, manna and quail rain down. God gives Israel her 'sabbaths'.¹²⁹ God promises to spare Israel both now and in the future from 'the diseases [he] brought on the Egyptians', a sparing that is not realized because Israel does not 'listen to the LORD' and 'keep his commands'.¹³⁰ As a result, and frequently because

128 Examples of the considerable liberty exercised in retelling this portion of Israel's story are not hard to come by. See, e.g., 1 *En* 89:28–29, which only mentions 'water' and 'grass'; 4 *Ezra* 1:15–16, which begins by mentioning quail, then manna, water from rock, bitter water made sweet; Neh 9:12–21, which starts with pillar of cloud and fire 'to give them light on their way', then Sinai, the Law, Sabbaths, bread from heaven, water from rock, and then back to Israel's idolatry with the 'calf' at Sinai; pillar of cloud and fire, manna, water, and, at last, an all-encompassing summary (which, intriguingly seems to echo Gen 28:20: 'For forty years you sustained them in the desert; they lacked nothing; their clothes did not wear out nor did their feet become swollen') (Neh 9:21); *L.A.B.* X.6a, 7–X1.1, which mentions bread, then quails, a well of water, the pillar of cloud and fire, Sinai where God said 'I will give light unto the world'. Also see the same fluid retelling dynamics of this period in Pss 78:14–33; 105:40–5; 135:8; 136:10; and Acts 7:36–40. Also see again my discussion on 'Summaries of Israel's Story' on pp. 54–57 above.

129 Exod 16:23–9; 20:8; 31:14–16; 35:2; Deut 5:12–15; Ezek 20:5–24.

130 Exod 15:26. Cf. Exod 23:21–2; Num 14:10–12; Lev 26:14, 18, 21, 27; Deut 30:20; 31:12; Neh 9:17; Ps 81:11, 13; Ezek 20:5–24; Dan 9:19.

of their perpetual 'grumbling',¹³¹ Israel suffers many ills, like 'plague', 'disease', 'death', 'destruction by serpents', and the like.¹³² At the heart of Israel's journey through the desert is her arrival at Sinai, where the life-giving Law is received—and immediately broken. *1 Enoch* memorably characterizes Israel's idolatry at Sinai as the time when 'the sheep began to be dim-sighted in their eyes' and, in fact, became 'blinded in their eyes' (89:32–3); 4Q504 1–2 judges likewise.¹³³ *1 Enoch* shows that Israel's blindness at Sinai leads to a future of blindness (cf. 89:41, 54). For Moses, Israel's apostasy at Sinai and throughout the wilderness period functions as a bad omen. Thus it is that Moses can forecast a future for Israel that the later prophets portray as having come all too true: a future characterized by 'blindness',¹³⁴ exile and death.¹³⁵ Nonetheless, Moses, who was later considered a shepherd over Israel,¹³⁶ prays that 'the LORD . . . appoint someone . . . so that the congregation of the LORD may not be like sheep without a shepherd'.¹³⁷ Joshua is thus appointed and positioned to lead Israel across the Jordan.¹³⁸

Viewed first from a satellite perspective, which again is necessary when trying to discern the 'bones' of an oral-derived narrative, the movements and themes of John 4–10 can fairly easily be seen to mimic the movements and themes of Israel's wilderness period as just described. On the heels of

131 Exod 15:24; 16:2, 7–9, 12; 17:3; Num 11:1; 14:2, 27, 29, 36; 16:11, 41; 17:5, 6, 10, 20; Deut 1:27; Pss 58:16; 105:25; Isa 29:24; 1 Co 10:10; *Congr.* 1:163; Zad 4:7.

132 Cf. e.g., Num 11:33 ('plague'); Num 12:10 ('disease'); Num 3:4; 14:12, 37; 16:33, 49; 20:1, 29; 21:6; 25:9; 26:10, 61; 27:3; 33:38–39; Deut 2:16; 32:50; 34:5 ('death'); 1 Cor 10:5–10 ('struck down', 'twenty-three thousand fell in a single day', 'destroyed by serpents', 'killed by the destroying angel').

133 In this prayer, the leader recounts how God 'didst pardon our fathers when they rebelled against' his word, allowing 'Moses [to] atone for their sin' . . . because 'we were called by Thy name . . . to plant Thy Law in our heart'. The prayer then immediately turns to a request that 'Thou wilt heal us of foolishness and of *blindness* and confusion of heart' (italics mine).

134 Lev 26:14–16; Deut 28:28–9; Isa 42:16–19; Isa 56:10; 59:10 [apparently quoting Deut 28:28–9]; Ezek 6:9; Zeph 1:17.

135 Deut 30:11–32:47 *passim*.

136 Philo repeatedly prefers to Moses as a 'shepherd'; see, e.g., *Mut.* 1:117; *Mos.* 1:60.

137 Num 27:16–20. This formula is repeated elsewhere, sometimes with reference to other shepherds, but also frequently (as in Philo) with specific reference to the paradigmatic shepherd after Moses, Joshua. Cf. 1 Ki 22:17; 2Ch 18:16; Isa 13:14; Jer 10:21; 12:10; 23:1; Ezek 34; Zech 10:2–3; 11:16–17; *Post.* 1:67–68 [exposition of Num 27:16]; *Agr.* 1:44 [exposition of Num 27:16]; *Virt.* 1:58 [exposition of Num 27:16].

138 Deut 1:38; 3:21, 28; 31:3, 7, 14, 23; 32:44; 34:9; Jos. 1:1; Acts 7:45.

memories of Israel's deliverance through the sea as the begotten bride of God (ch. 3), for example, the narrative proceeds to give us a series of roughly eight overarching snapshots into Jesus' life as he journeys toward his symbolic destination 'across the Jordan' (cf. 10:40). I say 'roughly' eight overarching snapshots here because, as is well recognized, many of the episodes are tightly interlinked and serve to build on each other. Eschewing for the moment the details of where Jesus' initial or primary action leads the discussion or battery of contingent events, and eschewing prejudice of language in order to put it most abstractly, we can see that there is:

- (1) A provision of water (4:1–42).
- (2) The healing of a sick son (4:43–54).
- (3) The healing of a cripple on a Sabbath (5:1–47).
- (4) The feeding of five thousand with bread and fish (6:1–71).
- (5) Jesus' offer to quench thirst at the Feast of Tabernacles (7:1–53).
- (6) Jesus' forgiveness of a woman caught in adultery despite the Law's requirement to stone her that is followed by a string of stormy exchanges (i.e. a trial) with the Jews specifically concerning matters/interpretations of the Law (8:1–59).¹³⁹
- (7) The healing of a blind man (9:1–41).
- (8) A discourse on sheep and shepherds.

At first glance, all of these events and/or themes can be viewed rather effortlessly as symbolic reproductions and/or reversals of the themes and/events characteristic of Israel's wilderness period. The likelihood of this patterning becomes more convincing when certain details within and/or observations about each of these snapshots are noted. For example, it may be seen that:

- (1) With reference to the woman at the well (φρέαρ; 4:11, 12), in addition to water being the first substance according to the Exodus narrative that God miraculously provides for Israel once they pass through the sea into the desert,¹⁴⁰ both Numbers 21:16–18 and *L.A.B.* x.7 refer to God's provision of

139 I add the extra details of what follows the *Pericope Adulterae* in recognition that this story (7:53–12) is not in the earliest manuscripts. I nevertheless include the *Pericope Adulterae* in my treatment of a scriptural tale, because of the way it appears to have been fitted seamlessly with the scriptural tale being worked out at this stage in the FG. This may be a further indication that a scriptural tale was perceived by the earliest readers/performers of the FG. See further on n. 153 below.

140 Exod 15:22–25.

water for Israel in the wilderness in terms of its being a 'well (φρέαρ) of water'.¹⁴¹ Further, if God's rescue of Israel through the sea into the desert could be thought of as the time when the divine bridegroom provided for his bride, and if the FE has just mentioned the 'bridegroom' in this echoic context, then it makes sense according to the scriptural tale that Jesus as the eschatological bridegroom of God offers water and presents himself as the seventh suitor to this woman who has 'had five husbands' already and now a sixth who is also 'not [her] husband' (4:18).¹⁴² The woman brings up the issue of on what 'mountain' the true children of God should 'worship' (4:20–1) in a way that is also reminiscent of God's word to Moses that he is going to redeem Israel from Egypt for the purpose of 'worship',¹⁴³ and specifically so that they can 'worship [me] on this mountain'.¹⁴⁴

(2) With reference to the sick and dying son, the Israelites' listening to God's 'voice' and obeying his 'word', as the nobleman here is explicitly said to 'take Jesus at his word' (4:50; cf. vv. 52–3), was the sole condition for being spared from sickness, death, and/or 'all the diseases the [LORD] brought upon the Egyptians',¹⁴⁵ and instead receiving the inheritance promised.¹⁴⁶

141 L.A.B. X.7; cf. John 4:6, 11–12. D. J. Harrington comments, 'The idea of a well of water to follow them arises from Num 21:16–20 and is found in Ps-Philo 11:15; 1 Cor 10:4, and many targumic and rabbinic texts' (OTP II, 317).

142 Further, the concept of Jesus as a new Jacob/Israel fits in well with this portrait of God's provision for his new bride in the wilderness. This has been achieved, it would seem rather naturally, by an evocation of the betrothal type-scene typical of the Pentateuch, wherein future spouses meet at 'wells' (Gen 24; Exod 2:15–22)—a type-scene that is specifically pertinent to the story of Jacob (Gen 29:1–14). The textured picture developed in John 4, then, is not only of Yahweh once again providing water for his people, but of the true Jacob/Israel providing for his new bride (whom it appears will help him populate the world with children of God; see John 4:39, 'many . . . believed . . . because of the woman's testimony'). As so often in the FG, divine and human images are mixed.

143 The purpose of Israel's liberation according to the Exodus narrative is so that they may 'worship/serve' (λατρεύω) the LORD. The purpose is stated fifteen times: 3:12; 4:23; 7:16, 26; 8:16; 9:1, 13; 10:3, 7–8, 11, 24, 26 (2X); 12:31.

144 Exod 3:13.

145 Exod 15:26; cf. especially the Summary of Israel's Story in Psalm 105:28 in this regard: '[the LORD] sent darkness [on the Egyptians], and made the land dark; they rebelled against his words (λόγους)'].

146 E.g., 'But if you listen attentively to his voice and do all that I say, then I will be an enemy to your enemies and a foe to your foes . . . You shall worship the LORD your God, and I will bless your bread and water; and I will take sickness away from among you . . . I will fulfill the number of your days' (Exod 23:22, 25–26). This theme is pervasive. For a sampling, see Exod 19:5; 23:22; 24:3; Num 14:22; Deut 4:30; 8:20; Deut 30:14–15, 20; 32:46–7; Josh 5:6; Dan 9:12–14.

(3) With reference to the cripple healed on the Sabbath, keeping God's gift of Sabbath (a gift that was also given immediately once Israel came into the desert) was one of the central features remembered about what Moses instructed Israel to listen to and obey in order not to suffer the penalties of covenant infidelity.¹⁴⁷

(4) With reference to the provision of bread and fish, one of the main foods that God provided for Israel in the desert was the 'manna', which was thought of in many traditions to have fallen as 'bread from heaven', just as the FE explicitly represents.¹⁴⁸ The people's 'grumbling' (γογγύζω) about Jesus' words in this episode would appear to be unmistakable evocations of Israel's similar 'grumbling' (γογγύζω) in the desert.¹⁴⁹

(5) With reference to Jesus' offer of water during the Feast of Tabernacles,¹⁵⁰ this feast was the commemorative event within Second Temple Judaism that celebrated God's supernatural provision for Israel during the wilderness period, and not least of all the provision of 'water from rock', which Johannine scholars have persuasively argued is specifically in view in Jesus' offer for 'any who are thirsty' to come to him and 'drink' so that 'living waters shall flow out of his belly'.¹⁵¹

(6) With reference to the woman caught in adultery (the later *Pericope Adulterae*) and imbroglio over issues concerning the Law that ensues,¹⁵² Jesus is depicted as a 'teacher' who comes down from a 'mountain' and who then, when the adulterous woman is presented, is shown strangely to 'write' (κατέγραψεν) 'with his finger' (δακτύλῳ) on the ground—an activity Jesus does twice; he

147 John 7:23 specifically locates the healing of the cripple within a Mosaic frame of reference. Referring back to this episode, Jesus says, 'If a man receives circumcision on the Sabbath in order that law of Moses may not be broken, are you angry with me because I healed a man's whole body on the Sabbath?' On the wilderness period being remembered as the time when Israel received the 'Sabbath' or 'Sabbaths', and would be punished for not keeping the Sabbath, cf. Exod 16:23–30; 31:13–18; 35:2–3; *Jub.* 2:25–6; 49:31–50:2, 8a, 10; Ezek 20:13, 16–38.

148 Cf. Exod 16:4; Neh 9:15; Isa 55:10; Wis 16:20; John. 6:31–3, 41, 50–1, 58; and, of course, the classic study of this theme in John 6 by Borgen 1981.

149 John 6:41, 43, 61; 7:32. A variety of words were used in Jewish tradition to describe this feature of Israel's behavior. For those texts which use the same term as the FE uses here, cf. Exod. 17:3; Num 11:1; 14:27, 29; 17:6, 20; Pss 58:16; 105:25; Isa 29:24; 1 Co 10:10.

150 For the argument that the ambiguous Greek of John 7:38 should be understood as saying that the water will come from *Jesus*, and not *believers*, see Lincoln 2005, 255.

151 Besides the especially luminous exegesis and discussion in Lincoln 2005, 256–7, see the discussion and references in Glasson 1963, 48–59.

152 Tellingly, the dispute over issues concerning the Law become merged with disputes over issues concerning Jesus' words, which are shown to be on par or even above the Law. Cf. 8:17, 34, 46, 51–52, 55c.

then invites those ‘who are without sin’ to ‘throw the first stone’. This interchange of actions sounds remarkably similar to the memory of Moses, Israel’s first ‘teacher’, who also came down Mt. Sinai only to find Israel prostituting themselves with false gods and thus smashes the tablets that were ‘written’ (καταγεγραμμένοι) (Exod 32:15) by the very ‘finger of God’ (τῷ δακτύλῳ τοῦ θεοῦ) (31:18). A second set of tablets is provided (34:1–28); but, as Israel’s entire history illustrates, these tablets are repeatedly (metaphorically) broken because Israel really is a ‘slave’ to ‘sin’ (John 8:34).¹⁵³ As the FE depicts rather unmistakably, what was true then is true now: the Lawgiver in Jesus who speaks the very words of God that he has seen and heard (like Moses) in the presence of God stands before them,¹⁵⁴ and they want to ‘stone him’.¹⁵⁵

(7) With reference to the healing of the blind man, the DSS and 1 *Enoch*’s characterization of Israel’s idolatry at Sinai as the time when ‘the sheep began to be dim-sighted’ and ‘blind’ (89:32–3), would seem to be a most suggestive memory in light of John 9’s connections with John 8, wherein as we have just shown (in both the *Pericope Adulterae* and the earlier text), Jesus is roundly

153 Intriguingly, Israel’s reception of the ten commandments (or literally ‘words’) in Exodus 20 is immediately followed by the narrator’s comment that, ‘When all the people witnessed the thunder and lightning . . . they were afraid and trembled and stood (ἔστησαν) at a distance’. Moses then tells the people to ‘not be afraid; for God has come only to test (πειράσαι) you and to put the fear of him upon you so that you do not sin’ (Exod 20:18, 20). In John 8, in an extraordinary and ironic reversal, the teachers of ‘law’ bring in a woman caught in adultery before the ‘teacher’ who embodies the Law and make her ‘stand’ (στήσαντες) before them (v. 3), citing that the ‘Law of Moses’ commands such women to be stoned (v. 5). The narrator then comments, saying, ‘They said this to test (πειράζοντες) him, so that they might have some charge to bring against him’ (6a). But instead of engaging them directly, the embodiment of the Law chooses to bend down and write ‘with his finger on the ground’ (v. 6b).

154 John 8:12, 31–2, 37–8, 40, 43, 45–7, 51 (‘Very truly, I tell you, whoever keeps my words will never see death’; cf. Deut 32:47 LXX: Moses says, ‘Because this is not an empty word for you, since it is your very life (ζωή), and through this word you shall live long in the land into which you are crossing over the Jordan to inherit’ (NETS)).

155 In terms of the insertion of the *Pericope Adulterae*, Christopher Keith has argued how skillfully it has been inserted by a later reader/performer of the FG in 7:53–8:11 to show that ‘Jesus’s identity parallels neither a prophet’s, nor a messiah’s, nor even the identity of Moses himself . . . but Yahweh the divine author of the Decalogue’ (Keith 2011, 52). The interpolators motive in putting the insertion where he has, says Keith, was to add theological content ‘that would otherwise be absent’ (Keith 2011, 51, emphasis original). Another consideration of why the interpolator chose the location he did is because of the way the *Pericope Adulterae* also fits into and enhances the outworking of a scriptural tale in the FG. Had the interpolator discerned such a tale? Or had he even previously been taught about it? The idea is not beyond the realm of possibility. See again pp. 101–107 above.

presented as the Lawgiver and, in fact, the very embodiment of the Law itself. The Law has been broken and God's words/commands have been rejected, both before, at Sinai, and now again, at a new 'Sinai'. Each rejection leads to the condition of 'blindness'. Israel's leaders in particular, as John 8 and 9 together expose, are particularly culpable of their blindness, for they hold it militantly (8:59; 9:40–1). This evinces the need, as Jesus then articulates in John 10, for a new 'good shepherd' to lead Israel so that they 'may have life, and have it abundantly' (10:10).

(8) With reference to the discourse on sheep and shepherds, although it is unanswerable that the memory of David and the Divine Shepherd-King are in view in John 10 (re. Ezek 34),¹⁵⁶ there is reason to believe that the FE has also intended these figures to be understood in conjunction with memories of Joshua. In the first place, Joshua's role as a shepherd-king over Israel is paradigmatic, for he is the *first* shepherd-king provided by God to succeed Moses in order that Israel 'will not be like sheep without a shepherd' (Num 27:17). Second, although the idea that the Lord will provide Israel with a leader so they 'will not be like sheep without a shepherd' surfaces in many texts throughout Israel's traditions,¹⁵⁷ only in John 10 and Numbers 27 is the role of this shepherd delineated according to the language specifically of 'going out' and 'coming in', suggesting that the FE was perhaps specifically thinking in terms of Joshua. Third, the fact that the blind man has just been 'thrown out of the synagogue' (ἀποσυνάγωγος) (9:22) may link with the Pentateuch's emphasis that Moses is commanded to elect someone as shepherd over the 'synagogue' (συναγωγῆς) of Israel.¹⁵⁸ Fourth, it is certainly intriguing that even as the Jews begin to commemorate and no doubt anticipate the liberation of Jerusalem and cleansing of the temple at the 'Feast of Dedication' (10:22), and even as Jesus is about to raise Lazarus in anticipation of his own climactic conquest through death, the FE tells us that Shepherd Jesus, Ἰησοῦς, positions himself, like the first Ἰησοῦς, Joshua, 'across the Jordan' (10:40). Moses' positioning 'across the Jordan' prior to handing the reins over to Joshua is a repeated theme in Deuteronomy and, in fact, the whole book opens on this note: 'These are the words that Moses spoke to all Israel beyond the Jordan (Ιορδάνου)—in the wilderness (ἐρήμῳ)'.¹⁵⁹ The stylization of popular leaders after Joshua is also well attested in the first century, and so could certainly have aroused memories of Joshua in the FG.

156 See, e.g., the discussion in Lincoln 2005, 292–3.

157 See again n. 138 above.

158 Num 27:16–17.

159 See Deut 1:1, 5; 2:29; 3:20, 25, 27; 4:14, 21–22, 26; 6:1; 9:1; 11:8, 11, 31; 12:10; 27:2, 4, 12; 30:18; 31:2, 13; 32:47.

Besides Theudas,¹⁶⁰ for example, Josephus tells us of a popular prophet known as the Egyptian who declared that 'at his command the walls of Jerusalem would fall down and they [his followers] could then make an entry into the city'.¹⁶¹ This prophet first led his followers 'through the wilderness', just as Jesus exits from 'near the wilderness' (ἐρήμου) prior to the FE's transitional announcement that it was 'six days before Passover' (cf. 11:54; 12:1).¹⁶²

Although some of the connections just mentioned may be doubted for various reasons, the likelihood that these connections are indicative of a patterning after the campaign of Moses is reinforced by the consistently echoic framework within which, and related themes around which, these connections are taking place. As argued above, when looked at globally, John 2–12 unfolds rather simply as a series of seven 'signs'. These signs redound as a recapitulation of the boundaries and central themes of the career of Moses. The interlacing of these themes within the unfolding of these successive episodes, therefore, may be seen as an instance of overcoding, whereby the listener's field of reference, though invited to branch out in innumerable associated directions throughout the narrative, is continually recalibrated by themes redolent with the story of Moses.

It may be remembered, for example, how throughout Moses' journey to the edge of the Jordan, he repeatedly suffers death threats and stoning by the very ones he has come to save, just as Jesus does.¹⁶³

It may also be observed how all Jesus' descriptive 'I AM' statements keep pace with and in fact underscore the scriptural tale being retold within this heptad. Jesus says 'I am the bread of life' in the episode that recapitulates God's provision of manna in the desert.¹⁶⁴ Jesus says, 'I am the light of the world'—a description which can unambiguously evoke primal memories of Israel's reception of the Law at Sinai¹⁶⁵—in the episode wherein Jesus is presented

160 See discussion in Horsley 1985, 164–6.

161 Quoted in Horsley 1985, 169.

162 Horsley 1985, 168, quoting *J. W.* 2.262.

163 Josephus seems to present this as a well-remembered figure of first century memory. See, e.g., *Ant.* 2:327: 'So they laid the blame on Moses, and forgot all the signs that had been wrought by God for the recovery of their freedom; and this so far, that their incredulity prompted them to throw stones at the prophet, while he encouraged them and promised them deliverance; and they resolved that they would deliver themselves up to the Egyptians'.

164 John 6:35, 41, 48, 51.

165 The examples here could be multiplied. But for simplicity, see Pseudo Philo's description of Israel's reception of the Law in the course of his own retelling of Israel's story in *L.A.B.* x.7–x1.1: 'And in the 3rd month of the journey of the children of Israel out of the land of

as the (Divine) Lawgiver and embodiment of the Law itself. This descriptor meaningfully spills over into the episode with the blind man (9:5) wherein the Jewish leadership's blindness is underlined, as they who claim to know the Law (7:49; 8:13, 17) again refuse to 'see' he who is the 'light of the world' (cf. 9:5; 40–1). This leads to Jesus' concluding speech before going across the Jordan wherein he claims that 'I am the gate for the sheep' and 'I am the Good Shepherd' (10:7, 13), designations that once again fit in very well with the idea that Jesus is to be seen, along with memories of David and Yahweh, as a new shepherd-king like Joshua about to enact a new conquest. The new conquest that Jesus has climactically come to enact, of course, as the culminating descriptive I AM statement and the Lazarus episode dramatically symbolize, is the ultimate conquest over death—a conquest that was foreseen, even if through a glass darkly, by the likes of Hosea, Daniel, and Ezekiel.¹⁶⁶ From the perspective of the scriptural tale, it would seem that the absolute alternative presented to Israel on the cusp of the Promised Land, and by the self-same ἐγώ εἰμι, is presented again in an ultimate way in John 11:25–6:

I have set before you life (ζωήν) and death (θάνατον), blessings and curses. Choose life (ζωήν) . . . See now that ἐγώ εἰμι (אֲנִי אֵלֹהִים); there is no god besides me. I kill and I make alive; I wound and I heal . . .

DEUT 30:19–20; 32:39

• • •

I am (ἐγώ εἰμι) the resurrection and the life. Those who believe in me, even though they die (ἀποθάνῃ), will live (ζήσεται), and everyone who lives (ζῶν) and believes in me will never die (ἀποθάνῃ). . . . Lazarus, come out!¹⁶⁷

JOHN 11:25–6, 43

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Egypt, they came into the wilderness of Sinai. And God remembered his word and said: "I will give light unto the world, and lighten habitable places, and make my covenant with the children of men, and glorify my people above all nations, for unto them I will put forth an eternal exaltation which shall be unto them a light'.

166 Cf. Hos 6:1–2 with John 11:6:21–7; Dan 12:1–3 with John 11:9–16; and Ezek 37:1–14 with John 11:21–7, 37–44.

167 Jesus' words in this verse may well have been designed to bring together and combine memories of Deut 30:19–20; 32:39, Ezek 37 and Hos 6:1–2. On the potential connection between Deut 32:30:1–10, 15–20; 32:39–42 and Ezek 37 in John 11, see Wright 2003, 3:120.

In summary, in light of multiple indicators that the Book of Signs recapitulates the boundaries of the career of Moses while sequentially reproducing many of its movements and themes, there seems to be ample reason to affirm that the FE has constructed the Book of Signs at a skeletal level to emulate the career of Moses.

7.2.3 *Seven Days (chs. 12–19): The New Campaigns of Joshua and David*

The notion that the FE portrays Jesus in this third act of his Gospel as preparing to enact a conquest is clear. Jesus' positioning at the 'Jordan' and then 'wilderness' would have functioned as a potent indication of an impending act of deliverance. In fact, Jesus' performance of multiple signs in conjunction with his retreat 'near the wilderness' (10:40; 11:54) prior to making his final entrance into Bethany and Jerusalem (12:1, 12), would have redoubled the expectation of an imminent conquest. As Richard Bauckham has demonstrated, the performance (or promise) of 'signs' by prophets or revolutionaries like Moses in the first century, coupled with retreats into the wilderness, were supercharged symbolic actions instantly capable of alerting people to join in on the mighty deliverance that was about to be effected.¹⁶⁸ Additionally, Jesus' (a) 'messianic' anointing (12:1–8),¹⁶⁹ followed by his (b) 'triumphal entry' according to prophecies of God's deliverance in Psalm 118:26 and Zechariah 9:9 (John 12:13–15), that is itself followed by (c) Jesus' climactic announcement that the long delay since 2:4 is over because 'the hour has come for the Son of Man to be glorified. . . now the ruler of this world will be driven out (ἐκβληθήσεται)' (12:23, 31b) all indicate that Jesus has indeed come to enact a mighty conquest.¹⁷⁰ However, if the FE is clear that Jesus has come to enact a decisive conquest, he is also clear that this conquest must happen, ironically, not by

168 To be sure, the very purpose of would-be revolutionaries' and prophets' performance of Moses-like 'signs' in popular movements was not to enact deliverance but prepare Israel for the mighty deliverance that was *about* to be enacted. See Bauckham 2007, 218–19.

169 Whether Mary's anointing of Jesus should be seen as his anointing to office is debated. But on the view that it is designed to express 'the royal dignity of Jesus in preparation for his triumphal entry into Jerusalem', see Barrett 1955, 343. See also our further substantiation of this view on the basis of popular traditions in n. 217 below.

170 The FE's use of the verb ἐκβάλλω to describe what he is going to do to the 'Prince of this world' (i.e. the Devil; Morris 1971, 597) is notable. This verb is used throughout Genesis–Joshua and several times in Summaries of Israel's Story to denote the LORD's victorious 'driving out' (ἐκβάλλω) of the nations prior to 'settling' and/or 'planting' Israel in the land. See, e.g., Exod 23:28, 31; 33:2; 34:11, 24; Num 22:11; Deut 11:23; 29:27; 33:27; Jos 24:12, 18; Jda 5:21; 6:9; 2 Sam 7:23; 1 Chr 17:21; Pss 43:3; 77:55; 79:9.

violent or cataclysmic revolution, but in and through his suffering and death.¹⁷¹ Both themes are immediately apparent and interwoven at the onset of (and then all through) this third heptad and require no further demonstration.¹⁷² What does require further demonstration, however, is the proposal that the FE has framed these last seven days to redound as a synthesized or interwoven reenactment of the signature campaigns of Israel's most legendary shepherd-leaders, Joshua and David.

7.2.3.1 Three Disclaimers

Three disclaimers may be made before attempting to show the lineaments of this shaping artistry. First, my claim that the FE has framed this third macro-structural heptad to echo the broad contours of Joshua and David's careers is not intended to exclude the possibility that the FE may also have intended to allude to additional legendary figures (like Moses). As I showed in Chapter 3, it is a truism of oral poetics that the story-pattern is more important in oral traditional cultures than the particular characters who enact them. The same story can be enacted by different characters, with different nuances of action or meaning, yet the same story would be told.¹⁷³ Similarly, several scholars have observed in reading Josephus that, insofar as it concerned popular movements around the time of Jesus, this same fundamental dynamic was operative. In essence, the implicit 'story-pattern' or 'typology of action' that an action prophet or revolutionary was going to enact would be the same, regardless of which legendary figure the movement's leader chose to imitate. As Bauckham summarizes of Josephus's accounts of the so-called 'action prophets' (as opposed to oracular prophets). Action prophets:

- (1) Claimed to be prophets.
- (2) Took their followers into the desert.
- (3) Promised their followers "signs".
- (4) Made reference to liberation or deliverance.
- (5) They did all of this this before making their way to Jerusalem and perhaps the temple to retake or supernaturally receive the land back for God's people.¹⁷⁴

171 This may explain why, while the FE shows Jesus going across the Jordan and then 'near the wilderness', he does not show Jesus gathering people there, as most revolutionaries did in preparation for *violent* or cataclysmic conquest. See Horsley 2010b, 133–6.

172 See, e.g., 11:51; 12:7, 10, 16, 24, 32–4.

173 See again p. 90 above.

174 See Bauckham 2007, 216–17.

Bauckham also notes how this fundamental story-pattern could be referentially thickened by means of what Richard Horsley describes as additional 'pattern[s] of symbolic correspondence' designed to redound more specifically with 'the great historical acts of redemption'.¹⁷⁵ Thus:

The miracle Theudas expected was a repetition of the crossing of the Jordan by Joshua and the Israelites at their first entrance into the land, while that expected by the Egyptian corresponds to the fall of Jericho, which inaugurated the Israelites actual conquest of the land from the Canaanites.¹⁷⁶

Further, perhaps because the story-pattern was fundamentally the same, a fusion of legendary figures was possible: 'The prophets themselves seem to combine the roles of Moses, the leader in the wilderness, and Joshua, the leader in the conquest of the land'.¹⁷⁷ Consequently, and again, while I will be arguing specifically for a recapitulation of the careers of Joshua and David in this third heptad because of the way the FG has been structured and the indicators that I see, it is granted that memories of Moses may also (or, better, *still*) be operative in this material. The FE's Passover plot, for example,¹⁷⁸ keyed to immediately at 12:1 and coming to a climax at the cross with the ostensive lamb/suffering servant whose bones are 'not broken', could quite easily be appealed to along these lines. My own contention, however, is that, given the propensity of popular leaders to mimic Moses in the desert *prior to* mimicking Joshua or David when turning to conquest,¹⁷⁹ this ongoing Exodus-type patterning is absorbed (as the Book of Signs comes to a close) into a framework that more readily bespeaks a re-envisioning of the campaigns of Joshua and David.

Secondly, closely related to this last point, as we seek to discover particular cues that signal to the ostensive campaigns of Joshua and David, we should not expect to find, nor should we need to find, a surfeit of confirmatory details at every point (even though it is possible we could). This is true because, as has become clear in our reading of the FG thus far, by the time we get to 12:1 the whole typology of action, the 'stable skeleton of narrative', identified by Bauckham for action prophets has already been evoked. The FE has already shown Jesus (1) claiming or being hailed as a prophet (among other designations);

¹⁷⁵ Horsley 1985, 171.

¹⁷⁶ Bauckham 2007, 217.

¹⁷⁷ Bauckham 2007, 217.

¹⁷⁸ See again n. 30 above.

¹⁷⁹ As observed by Bauckham; see again n. 168 above.

(2) going ‘beyond the Jordan’ and ‘near the wilderness’; (3) performing a ministry of ‘signs’; (4) making great claims about liberation and deliverance; and now (5) entering Jerusalem to enact conquest. All Jesus needs now to do is enact the conquest already signalled. Consequently, and here is the salient point, because the conquest sequence has already been evoked, all the FE needs to do in order to ‘referentially thicken’ Jesus’ particular conquest so that it redounds with the campaign of a Joshua or David is offer the slightest of verbal, symbolic, or structural cues pointing in this direction—a move on Jericho, a word about walls falling down, and the like. This was precisely what was done by both Theudas and the Egyptian in their own communicative mediums.

Thirdly, the Farewell Discourse does not fit neatly with the conquest pattern we have identified. Consequently, it is difficult to see how this whole large section of the FG may be seen to participate in a scriptural tale. Nonetheless, I will suggest one possible way of seeing how this long section might have been designed by the FE to fit in with his recasting of Jesus as a new David. I will deal with inklings of Joshua and David in turn.

7.2.3.2 Joshua: The New Joshua’s Ironic Triumph over a New Jericho

Joshua’s inaugural victory over Jericho was dramatically memorialized in the Book of Joshua and clearly remembered by Jesus’ contemporaries.¹⁸⁰ Within scriptural tradition, Joshua’s taking of Jericho is staged over the course of seven days in a distinctively six-plus-one format. Additional sets of seven are added and, notably, there is a compounding of heptadic elements on the seventh day where ‘seven priests’ blow their ‘seven trumpets’ as Israel marches around the walls of Jericho not once, like on the other six days, but ‘seven times’ (Josh 6:3–4). At that point, the priests are to ‘make a long blast’ and ‘all the people shall shout with a great shout’ and the walls will fall down (vv. 5–6). This conquest goes exactly as planned, amidst multiplying and escalating ‘sevens’.¹⁸¹

The interesting, even if initially superficial, observation about this heptadic structure is how it corresponds to the structuration of the FG’s climactic set of seven days beginning at 12:1. As argued in Chapter 6 above, the FE’s announcement that it was ‘six days before’ (12:1) would have had the power to create a numerically meaningful field of vision, frontloaded with the potential to

180 See, e.g., Heb 11:28; *J. W.* 2:57; *Ant.* 17:274; 20:169–70 (cf. Acts 21:38).

181 See the thirteen occurrences of ‘seven’ in Jos. 6:4 (3×), 6 (2×), 8 (2×), 13 (2×), 15 (2×), 22, 26. Although note the only four occurrences of ἑπτὰ in the LXX, in 6:8 (2×) and 6:13 (2×), not least because of what appears to be the editing out of 6:4, perhaps in order to draw a more concerted emphasis on the people’s responsibility to ‘shout’ (which is the effect created).

guide listeners toward a climactic moment of eschatological/theophanic significance and/or dramatic reversal. This climactic moment comes on the sixth day (and again on the seventh and eighth/first) amidst accumulating sets of seven: seven scenes in the trial before Pilate, followed by another seven scenes which narrate Jesus' crucifixion, death, and burial, before Jesus 'sleeps' on the seventh day.¹⁸²

What makes this correspondence of structures perhaps more than merely superficial,¹⁸³ of course, is, in the first place, how the FE portrays Jesus prior to signalling to this heptad (12:1). As Jesus' ministry of Moses-like signs comes to a climax, he is depicted, just like Joshua, as a 'shepherd' who will 'lead Israel out' and 'bring them in'. Jesus then goes to the symbolic place 'across the Jordan', where Joshua himself was once located, before offering a preview of the kind of conquest over death he himself was preparing to enact. Jesus then returns to the symbolically-charged place 'near the wilderness' before coming out and the FE's signalling to this heptad of 'days'. With these sorts of preceding evocations, the FE's 'six days before' marker is layered with referential meaning. This is to say, in light of some relatively strong memories of Joshua, it may be the case that the overarching field of vision evoked by the FE's declaration at 12:1 is not only of the outworking of a conventional number-pattern that will climax at the cross, but also of a specific instance of this number-pattern that is intended to come to a climax at the cross: namely, the story of Joshua's conquest over Jericho, which represents the inaugural securing of the land for Israel.

It is acknowledged at outset that additional specific markers for this structural association are few and that, taken as a whole, this patterning should be held tentatively.

Nonetheless, the hypothesis that the FE is broadly contouring his story of Jesus according to Joshua's defeat of Jericho gains a measure of force as the Farewell Discourse ends and the narrative moves decisively towards Jesus' moment of conquest on the cross. The parallels between Joshua and Jesus begin to accumulate, even if the FE will freely shift analogical goal posts whilst evoking the events surrounding Joshua's experience and Jesus' own reality. The FE's primary intent, it would seem, is to reveal Jesus as manifestly greater than Joshua not only in his person but also in his ironic work. As may be seen: when Jesus nears Jerusalem for battle, as Joshua once neared Jericho for battle (18:1; Josh 5:13), Jesus is met by men with swords, while Joshua was met by a man

182 See again section 6.3.3 above.

183 By 'superficial' I mean that we are not simply recognizing that two works have used the same idiosyncratic number-pattern.

with a sword (18:3; Josh 5:13). Joshua immediately ‘falls’ (ἔπεσεν) to the ground when the mysterious man reveals his name: ‘The commander of the army of the LORD’ (Josh 5:14), just as, in the FE’s reversal, the soldiers coming to take Jesus immediately ‘fall’ (ἔπεσεν) to the ground when Jesus reveals his name, ‘I AM’ (18:5–6).¹⁸⁴ Then, as with Joshua, this encounter leads to the mention of an ‘early’ (πρωτῆ) morning of preparation for conquest (18:28; Josh 6:12).¹⁸⁵ Joshua prepares by marching; Jesus, who will conquer by being conquered, prepares by interrogation before Pilate. As Joshua marches around the city seven times on the seventh day amidst seven priests blowing trumpets before victory is secured, and Israel’s life in the land is at last inaugurated; Jesus is faced on this ironically staged sixth day with seven distinct charges/repartees on the part of the Jews¹⁸⁶ in the midst of multiple other sets of seven before sleeping in death on the seventh day and inaugurating life in the new creation (ch. 20).¹⁸⁷ Particularly telling, especially because of the prominence of the feature of ‘shouting’ within the Joshua narrative,¹⁸⁸ is the fact that it is distinctly in spite of Pilate’s resistance, just as it was (analogically) in spite of ‘Jericho’s’ resistance, that the ‘shouts’ of the Israelites/Jews prevail: the walls of Jericho crash; Jesus is handed over to be crucified.¹⁸⁹ With extreme irony, then, it may seem be that, as with the defeat of Jericho, God has chosen to use the ‘shouts’ of his people against Jesus to effect their salvation and lead them into the new ‘land’. This accords with the FE’s perspective that Jesus’ defeat is victory, which

184 I am suggesting, in other words, that while the FE is profiling Jesus as a new Joshua, he also wants to suggest that Jesus is Joshua’s Lord, and perhaps even the very ‘commander of the army of the LORD’ Joshua encountered.

185 The term πρωτῆ constitutes one of only four occurrences in Joshua (3:1; 6:12; 7:14; 8:10) and one of only two occurrences in the FG (18:28; 20:1). Further, ‘in Ps 49:15 the Korahite singer celebrates morning as the time the upright will be victorious over the wicked’. More generally, many Psalms give the picture that ‘morning was when one should expect God’s help; cf. Pss 46:6; 90:14; 143:8; 2 Sam 23:3–4; Zeph 3:5’ (Wallace 2011, 13 and 13 n. 61).

186 See 18:31b, 40; 19:6a, 7, 12, 15a, 15c.

187 Jesus’ declaration in 19:30 (τετέλεσται) may be intended to resonate with Gen 2:2 (‘And on the seventh day God συνετέλεσεν the work which he had done’), as claimed, for example, by Griffith Jones 2008, 117; Wright 2003, 3:440.

188 The walls fall down right when Israel climactically ‘shouts’, a feature of the narrative that Susan Niditch argues was part of the traditional story-patterning of ANE conquest (or ‘victory-enthronement’) narratives (see Niditch 1996, 21). It is a feature of traditional conquests most dramatically represented in scripture at Jericho.

189 While the FE is consistent in the verb used to describe the Jews ‘shouting’ (John 18:40—ἐκραύγασαν; 19:6—ἐκραύγασαν; 19:12—ἐκραύγασαν; 19:15—ἐκραύγασαν), Joshua uses a range of verbs (Josh 6:5—ἀνακράζω; 6:10—βοάω; 6:16—κράζω; 6:20—ἀλαλαγμῶ (ἀλαλαγμός) μεγάλῳ).

is why Jesus can also be depicted with analogical complexity as the walls of Jericho, Joshua, and the commander of the army of the LORD *at once*.¹⁹⁰

It may be objected that we have only been able to propose this schema by ignoring the more obvious patterning that is being indicated by the 'six days before' marker (12:1), namely, that of the 'Passover plot'. After all, it was 'six days *before Passover*', suggesting that we are to count down to the climactic moment of the Passover. Two points are in order. Firstly, Horsley and Bauckham have each shown that the great Jewish celebrations were times of great expectation on the part of the Jews and of anxiety on the part of the Romans. This was because it was precisely at these 'high times' of the year—when the foundational events of God's deliverance were commemorated—that expectations were fuelled for future deliverance.¹⁹¹ Moreover, Horsley cites two examples (from 4 BCE and 48–52 CE) where a violent struggle ensued between the Romans and the Jews gathered at Passover.¹⁹² It is no giant leap to imagine that the arrival of a would-be liberator who was making his way to Passover could excite no little expectation of imminent deliverance. Thus, instead of bruising my argument, the FE's notation about the Passover may actually buttress it: this notation may have underscored the sense that the one named Jesus/Joshua—who had now become well known for his miraculous signs, and who had just come in from 'near the wilderness'—was coming to Passover in six days precisely to enact a new deliverance just like David and Joshua of old. Secondly, the idea that Passover was also the time when lambs were slaughtered and the Akedah was remembered would serve the FE's ideology of how Jesus effects conquest by his own sacrifice. Thus, as in other ways in the FG, it is possible that the FE has deliberately absorbed a Passover plot into his conquest schema (incidentally, Passover was also celebrated over the course of seven days)¹⁹³ in order to underline that Jesus conquered specifically by becoming the ultimate

190 It is also instructive to note that there appears to have been precedent for the same sort of heptadically bolstered Joshua typology in eschatological battle scenes described at Qumran. In addition to the *War Scroll's* envisioning of the battle as occurring at the climax of a multiple series of sevens (cf. Vermes 2004, 84; *War Scroll* 1, 14–15; V, 2–3, 15; VI, 1), for example, the *War Scroll* also envisions the priests' participation in the act of trumpet blowing. Although the idea of priests blowing trumpets in the midst of battle is found elsewhere (e.g., Num 10:8; 2 Chr. 13:12), the most prominent (if not only?) place in the Hebrew scriptures where priests are seen blowing trumpets amidst swirls of sevens in a conquest narrative is in Joshua's defeat of Jericho. Evans seems to entertain the idea of this sort of background in the *War Scroll*. See Evans 2000, 144.

191 Horsley 1994, 90–3; Bauckham 2007, 220–1.

192 Horsley 1993, 93.

193 See Exod 12:15; Lev 23:5–8; Num 28:16–17; Deut 16:1–4; 2 Chron 30:17–23; Ezr 6:19–22.

Passover sacrifice. Put otherwise, Jesus is the new Joshua because Jesus is the new Isaac.

Once again, although the thematic and structural correspondences outlined in this section seem to belie mere coincidence, it is granted that substantially more exegetical rigor in the future will be required to make these connections more persuasive. Recent examination into the memory of Joshua in the NT suggests this as a duly promising task for future research.¹⁹⁴

7.2.3.3 David: The New David Undergoes a New Betrayal to Usher in a New Kingdom/Temple

Although many of the references and/or symbols to kingship in John 12–19 are generic, and although Jesus is nowhere called the ‘Son of David’, there should be little doubt that the FE aimed to portray Jesus in Davidic terms. We have already seen this in John 10, where Jesus is doubtlessly associated with memories of David via the clear evocation of Ezekiel 34. Jesus’ Davidic identity in the FG has also been ably demonstrated by Margaret Daly-Denton.¹⁹⁵ Richard Horsley has also shown the degree to which the idea of a new Davidic king, ‘anointed’ by the ‘common people’ was prevalent in popular culture in the first century: an abundance of such popular ‘kings’ ‘donning the diadem’, wearing ‘purple robes’, and making attempts on Jerusalem arose.¹⁹⁶ The connections between these popularly anointed kings with the depictions of Jesus in John 12:1–19:22 are conspicuous.¹⁹⁷

The question, however, is whether Jesus’ final entry and move on Jerusalem have been stylized after the career of David in any architectonic way. As I will argue, although the cues are admittedly softer than with other patterns in the FG, and although space restricts us from the sort of full examination that might lead to confident assertions, alongside his portrait of Jesus as a new shepherd-leader like Joshua, there are some indications that the FE has broadly stylized

194 As Richard’s Ounsworth’s recent—and favorably received—monograph on *Joshua Typology in the New Testament* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012) seems to indicate. See the review by J. Cornelis de Vos in RBL 12, 2013.

195 Daly-Denton 1996; Daly-Denton 2000. See the positive reviews of Derrett 2000 and North 2001, and the more reserved appraisal by Swetnam 2000.

196 See Horsley 2003b, 49.

197 Jesus is repeatedly acclaimed as ‘king’, although mostly by a mocking Pilate. Notably, Jesus is called ‘king’ exactly fourteen times (12:13, 15; 18:33, 37 [2×], 39; 19:3, 12, 14, 15 [2×], 19, 21 [2×]; the only other occurrences in the FG are at 1:49; 6:15). Jesus is also made to don the ‘diadem’ and dressed in a ‘purple robe’ (19:5), again as a mockery. Horsley’s point about anointing is important because it reinforces the likelihood that Jesus’ anointing by Mary in John 12 is to be seen as a messianic anointing. See n. 217 below.

(a) Jesus' final entry into Jerusalem (ch. 12) after the shepherd-boy David's first entry into Jerusalem (e.g., 1 Sam 15–20),¹⁹⁸ and (b) Jesus' arrival at the Kidron and aftermath (ch. 18–19) after David's exile and betrayal by Absalom and Ahithophel (e.g., 2 Sam 11–19).¹⁹⁹ After outlining this framework, a modest proposal will be made with reference to the Farewell Discourse (chs. 13–17).

Prior to showing these patterns, however, it is first necessary to comment on the FE's use of Psalms in this section of the narrative, because his usage here may be seen to support a Davidic story-patterning. This becomes apparent when it is recognized that Davidic Psalms in the first century were believed to have been written by David and were reflective of events from his life. As Menken notes: 'In early Judaism and in early Christianity (and not only there), the ascription of many psalms to David was understood to mean that David composed these psalms about himself at well-defined occasions in his life.'²⁰⁰ Sometimes these Davidic life-settings were explicitly identified in superscriptions in both the Hebrew and Greek Psalters, and sometimes in one but not the other. However, in many instances, David's life-setting was presupposed in the reception of the Psalm. This is a salient insight on several levels. Not only does it suggest that the FE's listeners would have known the most prominent stories from David's life.²⁰¹ It also suggests that the psalms could easily and quite naturally have served the FE in signalling to and/or bolstering the sub-tale being told. I will show how this appears to be the case at several points in John 12–19.²⁰²

198 Cf. Daly-Denton 1996, wherein she makes the general claim that interconnections and allusions to 2 Sam 15–18 are an important and perhaps underestimated current in Johannine thought.

199 This second connection has been well recognized. Cf. Lincoln 2005, 442 and especially the argument and references in Menken 1996, 132–38 (more on this below).

200 Menken 1996, 132. Cf. Hurtado 2003, 362 n. 24; and Ahearne-Kroll 2006, 126 n. 24 for references confirming the belief that David was the author of the Psalter at Qumran, and in Josephus and Philo.

201 This is to say, if many of the Davidic psalms were taken to have life-settings and were heard with these narrative superstructures in place, and if the psalms were amply recited in popular culture (see again p. 59 above), then it follows that the average Jew in the first century CE would have been well aware of a good many stories about David's life, regardless of whether they could read. Presumably, these stories would have been told (at least some of the time) prior to recitations/readings.

202 Daly-Denton puts the point unequivocally. If David was presumed to be the author of the Psalms, then it is 'inconceivable that some of the psalm references in the Gospels would not have carried for the original readers resonances of David and his story' (Daley-Denton 2000, 110).

To begin, I will look at Jesus' final entry into Jerusalem as a reflection of David's first entry into Jerusalem—the saga of his beginnings as a model shepherd king.²⁰³ At the bare bones level, although the main features might be reorganized in accord with oral traditional conventions,²⁰⁴ David's foray into kingship is comprised of five distinctive elements:

1. David is anointed.²⁰⁵
2. He slays Goliath.²⁰⁶
3. He is shown to be popular/powerful.²⁰⁷
4. His popularity/power is a threat to Saul, and so Saul wants to kill him.²⁰⁸
5. But David eludes Saul.²⁰⁹

With the exception of # 2, the same features resurface and/or have already been made to inform the events of John 12:

1. Jesus is anointed.²¹⁰
2. —
3. He is shown to be popular/powerful.²¹¹
4. His popularity/power is a threat to the Jewish leadership, and so they want to kill him.²¹²
5. But Jesus eludes them.²¹³

203 I should clarify that I have chosen to label David's identification and foray into kingship in terms of his 'first entry into Jerusalem' because the sole mention of 'Jerusalem' in 1 Samuel occurs when David triumphantly enters 'Jerusalem' with Goliath's head (1 Sam 17:54). This would seem, in light of later expectations of kingly figures making moves on Jerusalem, to be an especially significant feature of the biblical story.

204 See again p. 86 above. With reference to two tellings of David's anointing and foray into kingship that rearrange the main features of the narrative at will, while nonetheless clearly telling the same traditional 'story', cf. 1 Sam 15–20; *L.A.B.* 58–62.

205 1 Sam 16; *L.A.B.* 59.

206 1 Sam 17; *L.A.B.* 59:5; 61.

207 1 Sam 18:1–7, 13–16; *L.A.B.* 59:5; 60; 61:9.

208 1 Sam 18–20 (*passim*); *L.A.B.* 62.

209 1 Sam 18:11b, 30 (in light of vv. 17–19; 19:10–18; 20:1); *L.A.B.* 62:1, 2, 11.

210 12:1–8.

211 11:45; 12:9, 11, 17–18, 20–2, 42.

212 11:46–53; 10, 19.

213 11:54, 12:19.

Again, although these connections may be considered quite subtle, the likelihood of a patterning becomes more convincing when flesh is added to bone, and the alleged story-patterning is seen to share similarity in both outline and detail, even if the details are analogical equivalents.²¹⁴ There does seem to be some evidence of this in John 12:

1. Just as David is anointed in Bethlehem or Bethel, Jesus is anointed in Bethany.²¹⁵ More significantly, both David's and Jesus' 'anointing' are conducted in private settings in contexts where other shepherds/leaders over Israel have been rejected by God.²¹⁶ Furthermore, such unconventional 'anointings' by οἱ πολλοί, conducted specifically in the memory and after the pattern of Davidic kingship, were common in the first century.²¹⁷

2. David slays Goliath, prefacing his slaying with the memorable declaration that, although Goliath comes at him with 'sword' and 'spears', David 'comes in the name of the Lord of Hosts (ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου), the God of the armies of Israel' (θεοῦ παρατάξεως Ἰσραήλ); David then makes his triumphal entry into Jerusalem.²¹⁸ In similar fashion, although Jesus does not slay Goliath (for obvious reasons), once he makes his own triumphal entry into Jerusalem, the people hail him as king. They do so with an augmented quotation from Psalm 118, exclaiming 'Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord (ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου)'—and then the addition:—'the King of Israel (ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ)!' (12:13). In light of how Davidic Psalms tended to function narratively in the first century CE, and in light of the fact that this Psalm in all probability

214 Again, the use of analogical equivalents was a fundamental and expected part of oral traditional poetics. In fact, it is what characterized the very best of good story-telling. See again p. 84 above.

215 Cf. 1 Sam 16:1b; *L.A.B.* 59:2; John 12:1.

216 Cf. 1 Sam 15; John 10.

217 This may now be stated a little more fully. Horsley comments: 'The biblical accounts of the rise of ancient Israelite kingship in response to the threat of Palestinian domination mention that first "the men of Judah . . . anointed David king over Judah . . . (2 Sam 2:4; 5:3; . . .). This is the Israelite popular tradition of the people themselves "messiahing" (=acclaiming, electing) their king on a conditional basis . . . This popular tradition of kingship was also revolutionary, insofar as the people were "anointing" a king to lead them'. Moreover, Horsley continues, in the first century, these movements spawned by popular anointings of Davidic 'kings' 'all arose in the countryside among the peasantry' (Horsley 2003b, 49). Naturally, this background makes it quite possible, if not probable, that we are to view Mary's unconventional anointing of Jesus on the backdrop of these 'popular' movements and, therefore, as a bona fide indication of Jesus' Davidic, popularly acclaimed kingship.

218 1 Sam 17 (esp. v. 45). Again, this is the only mention of Jerusalem in 1 Samuel.

carried strong Davidic overtones,²¹⁹ it is certainly possible—especially in light of the augmentation ‘King of Israel’—that the quotation would have served to provoke memories of David, and specifically memories of that prototypical moment when the young shepherd-king David courageously declared that he ‘comes in the name of the Lord of Hosts, the God of the armies of Israel’.

3. David is shown to be popular/powerful, and a crowd of women come out to celebrate his victory.²²⁰ Similarly, Jesus is shown to be popular/powerful, and a throng of people gather together to celebrate his anticipated victory.²²¹

4. David’s popularity/power is a threat to Saul, because he fears that he will lose his kingdom.²²² Likewise, Jesus’ popularity/power is a threat to the Jewish leadership, because they fear losing ‘their place and their nation’; they decry that ‘the whole world has gone after [Jesus]!’.²²³ Consequently, both Saul and the Jewish leadership want to kill the ‘coming shepherd-king’.

5. Just as David is said to elude Saul, and eventually retreats into hiding (κρύπτω),²²⁴ so Jesus is said to elude the Jewish authorities, and eventually retreats into hiding (κρύπτω).²²⁵ Notably, perhaps in a way that underlines a bona fide oral traditional tension of essences in John 12, Jesus goes into hiding at John 12:36b despite the fact that his ‘hour as come’.²²⁶

219 See Carson 1991, 432; cf. Mark 11:9–10.

220 1 Sam 18:6–7. Or ‘victories’, depending on whether the Masoretic or Greek text is being read at this point.

221 John 12:12–15.

222 1 Sam 18:8, 15; *L.A.B.* 62:1–2.

223 John 11:48; 12:19.

224 David first ‘hides’ (κρύπτω) himself from Saul in 1 Sam 19:2, and the action becomes a consistent motif in the rest of 1 Samuel (cf. 20:5, 19, 24; 23:19), only occurring again in 2 Sam 19:5, with reference to Absalom. The theme also occurs in Psalm 27 with apparent reference to David’s experience with Saul. In view of David’s prayer about a future fraught with troubles, Psalm 27 is prefaced by the superscription: ‘Pertaining to David [Before he was anointed]’ (NETS). Within the Psalm, David expresses his trust that when ‘wicked people’ approach him and ‘war’ breaks out against him, ‘[the Lord] will hide me (׀ַיִּכְסֶּיךָ/ἐκρυψέν) in his shelter in the day of trouble’ (v. 5).

225 John 12:37.

226 John 12:23. This is, indeed, an ‘odd’ feature of the narrative. The delay is over and yet the delay continues. It may be considered that, instead of being evidence of sloppy editing, this feature surfaces in the narrative at this point, not because it makes good sense from a tAgora perspective (it strikes us as ‘odd’) but precisely because it made good sense to the composer originally utilizing a deeply absorbed story-pattern from an oAgora perspective (the story about David’s beginnings as king and necessity thereby to ‘hide’).

These parallels do not, of course, provide any sort of knock-down case for an actual patterning, and it is again freely admitted that significantly more work will be necessary in future studies to substantiate these proposed connections. Nonetheless, the possibility that the FE was thinking and structuring his narrative along Davidic lines is reinforced by the contours of John 18 and 19, especially as these contours seem to have been deliberately foreshadowed by quotations from Psalms 41:9 and 35:19 in John 13:18 and 15:25 respectively.²²⁷ As Menken has argued with reference to John 13:18, the quotation from Psalm 41:9²²⁸ is almost certainly designed to arouse memories of Absalom's insurrection against David: 'Absalom's rebellion is referred to directly or indirectly, in Pss. 3:1; 7:1; 18:1–2'.²²⁹ It is also included in the LXX superscription of Psalm 142 (143).²³⁰ Further, a central element of Absalom's insurrection was Ahithophel's betrayal of David, a betrayal that early Jewish exegetes saw described in Psalms 41:10 and 55:13–15.²³¹ The conclusion is straightforward: 'In view of the pre-Christian tendency to connect psalms with David's biography and the later explicit "Ahithophelian" interpretations of parts of Psalms 41 and 55, it is only reasonable to suppose that such an interpretation of Ps. 41:10 was usual at the time the fourth evangelist wrote his Gospel'.²³² Accordingly, Jesus' quotation of this Psalm with reference to Judas so that 'the scriptures might be fulfilled', along with the underscoring of this event by another fulfilment quotation in 17:12, suggests a desire to cast Jesus as a new David, and Judas as a new Ahithophel, in the larger context of the rebellion and rejection of 'his own' (cf. 13:1; 1:11). Jesus' quotation of Psalm 35:19²³³ in John 15:25 underscores this impression. For here too is quoted a Davidic Psalm of unjust suffering, betrayal, and vindication that must be 'fulfilled' in Jesus' own life. This betrayal

227 The use of these quotations in the Farewell Discourse is also the first indication that the memory of David may have been stamped on this portion of the narrative (see further below).

228 'The one who ate my bread has lifted his heel against me'.

229 Menken 1996, 132 n. 42.

230 Menken 1996, 132 n. 43.

231 See Menken 1996, 133 (six references are given).

232 Menken 1996, 133.

233 'Do not let my treacherous enemies rejoice over me, or those who hate me without cause wink the eye' (Ps 35:19). Ps 69:4 may also be in view: 'More in number than the hairs of my head are those who hate me without cause; many are those who would destroy me, my enemies who accuse me falsely'. See Menken 1996, 139–45.

and suffering occurs as Jesus crosses the 'Kidron valley' and settles in a 'garden', doubtlessly on the Mt of Olives.²³⁴

Inasmuch as Jesus may be presented as the majestic and startling heavenly figure that Joshua encounters prior to taking Jericho in John 18 when he announces his name, there are also a few subtle indications that Jesus is at once portrayed as a new David suffering a new 'exile' in this passage.²³⁵ The exceptional irony of Jesus' Davidic-like 'exile', consonant with the carefully emplotted geographic patterning explored above,²³⁶ is that Jesus does not experience his exile by fleeing Jerusalem, but by deliberately going into it. The juxtaposition of various referents in this passage once again underscores that the FE is invested in teaching his listeners not only who Jesus is and what he has come to do, but *how* he has come to do it. Jesus will undergo exile like David, but to a far greater degree. Although David is faithless and perfidious (2 Sam 11:1–27), and, as prophesied by Nathan (2 Sam 12:1–12), betrayed by Absalom and Ahithophel (1 Sam 15:1–12), so Jesus, precisely because of his faithfulness and purity before God, as prophesied in scripture and recently by himself (13:8), is betrayed by his new Ahithophel, Judas (18:1–11). As David is forced into exile specifically by way of the 'Kidron Valley' and 'Mt. of Olives' (1 Sam 15:23, 30), so Jesus prepares for his moment of glory specifically by travelling across the 'Kidron Valley' and Mt. of Olives (John 18:1). This is the only time the 'Kidron Valley' is mentioned in the NT.²³⁷

Likewise, as David enters exile accompanied by his ardent servant, Ittai, who wants to follow him (2 Sam 15:19–20), and who thus promises that 'wherever my lord the king may be, whether it means life or death, there will your servant be' (2 Sam 15:21), so Jesus as he enters into exile is accompanied by his ardent servant, Peter, who wants to follow him (John 13:36), and who has thus also promised that 'I will lay down my life for you' (v. 37). However, where Ittai marches ahead of David into exile with his whole family, Peter will eventually flee (18:15–27; 2 Sam 15:22b). Before fleeing, however, Peter will attempt to defend his Lord and cut off an attacker's ear, even as Abishai had sought

234 The Mt. of Olives is not explicitly named in John 18. It is, however, in view. As Lincoln comments: 'The Kidron Valley lies to the east of Jerusalem between the city and the Mount of Olives, and the garden would have been at the foot of the Mount of Olives. The entering of the garden, mentioned here, and the exiting from it (v. 4) indicate it was a clearly defined enclosure' (Lincoln 2005, 442).

235 Several NT scholars have argued that Ahithophel's betrayal of David has influenced the Gospels' portrayals of Judas. See the multiple references in Menken 1996, 135.

236 See again discussion on p. 271 above.

237 In the OT, the Kidron is only mentioned eighteen times: Jdg 1:30; 2 Sam 15:23; 1 Ki 2:37; 15:13; 2 Ki 23:4, 6, 12; 2 Chr 15:16; 29:16; 30:14; 1 Macc 15:39, 41; 16:9; Sir 50:12; Jer 38:40.

to do for David (18:10; 2 Sam 16:9). The incident will earn him the rebuke of his Lord, just as with David to Abishai, because in both instances Israel's true King discerns the accursed events as being according to the Lord's will (18:11; 2 Sam 16:10).²³⁸

Nevertheless, where David will muster an army together to fight his treacherous son (2 Sam 17:24–18:4), Jesus will self-consciously refuse such action (18:36). Instead, in accord with Jesus' purpose to 'take away the sin of the world' as the suffering servant king who is at once the supreme Passover Lamb/New Isaac (18:28–19:37; cf. 1:29) in order to fight a much deeper battle against the Prince of this world (cf. 12:31–2), Jesus will not only (rather scandalously), like David, exhibit gentleness toward those who have been treacherous toward him (2 Sam 18:5; John 19:36), but he will become the one who is 'lifted up'²³⁹ and dies for the treacherous himself. Indeed, he will become both David and Absalom: the one who 'loves those who hate him' (2 Sam 19:6), and the one who, therefore, as a result, is hung and ruthlessly killed on a tree (19:17–30; 2 Sam 18:9–10), pierced (19:34; 2 Sam 18:11–15), taken—ἐλαβον (2 Sam 18:17), and buried behind a stone, λίθων/λίθον (20:1; 2 Sam 18:17).²⁴⁰

Again, it is frankly admitted that the accumulation of broad parallels touched on in this section is more convincing than several of the more specific connections just recounted. Consequently, substantial future work will be necessary to make this proposal of a Davidic patterning more credible.

In terms of the Farewell Discourse, while again tenuous, there do appear to be some grounds for suspecting that in accord with memories and expectations of David (and Solomon) as Israel's great Temple builder,²⁴¹ the FE has also contoured Jesus' last address to his disciples to resonate with temple themes in order to portray Jesus as the fulfillment of David in this regard as well. Consonant with themes in the rest of the Gospel, Jesus' temple will not be a place but a people.

238 2 Sam 16:10: 'But the king said, "What have I to do with you, you sons of Zeruiah? If he curses, and if the LORD has told him, 'Curse David,' then who shall say, 'Why have you done so?'" John 18:11: 'Jesus commanded Peter, "Put your sword away! Shall I not drink the cup the Father has given me?'"

239 Likewise David in 2 Sam 22:49.

240 It is painfully difficult to determine whether the FE was following a text or well-rehearsed collection of stories of David at this point. Granted some of the level of detail, it is tempting to conclude that the FE was working from memories of a text (or texts) at this point. While not denying this possibility, it is also possible (as already mentioned) that David stories were adjoined to the reading/reception of Psalms and would therefore have been well known.

241 See Wright 1992, 1:226; Wright 1996, 2:204–6.

The theme of Jesus as the new Davidic temple-builder credibly begins, therefore, with what is perhaps to be taken as a symbolic purification of the priests who will lovingly serve in/as his new temple (once his work on the cross is done).²⁴² Jesus ‘washes’ (νίπτω) the disciples’ feet, an act not only of humility but of ritual purification,²⁴³ a fact that may be underscored by νίπτω’s rare use in scripture generally and its eightfold use in John 13.²⁴⁴ As Peter (unwittingly?) witnesses when he says, κύριε, μὴ τοὺς πόδας μου μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν. The idea of cleansing extremities, especially the ‘hands and feet’, belongs squarely to the most ancient legislation for priests. As the LORD instructs Moses in Exodus 30, Aaron and his sons must always wash (νίπτω) their hands (χεῖρας) and feet (πόδας) prior to ministering at the altar.²⁴⁵ This constellation of ideas occurs only in priestly contexts in scripture.²⁴⁶ Additionally, this washing was to be done in conjunction with the holy anointing of the priests, presumably on the ‘head’ (Exod 30:30). It would seem, therefore, that in addition to its other functions in the narrative, John 13 has potentially been designed to show Jesus giving his disciples the ritual bath necessary to prepare them to serve as priests in his new sacred space—i.e. *as a community of love and locus of God’s presence in Jesus’ name.*

This emphasis on Jesus’ disciples as the new locus of God’s presence in the world appears to be picked up in additional language elsewhere in the Farewell Discourse, language that continues to resonate with memories of David. For example, as David longed to build a ‘house’ (οἶκος)²⁴⁷ for the LORD to ‘dwell’

242 Note the potential connection between the narrators comment in 13:1 that ‘when Jesus knew that his hour had come to depart out of this world . . . he loved them [his disciples] to the end (τέλος)’ in his symbolic action of washing their feet, and Jesus’ declaration, after providing for their ultimate cleansing on the cross, and just prior to pouring out *the* Spirit on the disciples in 19:30, that ‘It is finished (τετέλεσται)’.

243 See the discussion in Hoskyns 1947, 438–9.

244 John 13:5, 6, 8 (2×), 10, 12, 14 (2×). Νίπτω is only used elsewhere in the OT and NT (including the OT Apocrypha) a total of thirty-five times.

245 ‘You shall make a bronze basin . . . for washing (νίπτεσθαι). . . . Aaron and his sons shall wash (νίψεται) their hands (χεῖρας) and their feet (πόδας) . . . they shall wash (νίψονται) with water, so that they may not die. They shall wash (νίψονται) their hands (χεῖρας) and their feet (πόδας) . . . it shall be a perpetual ordinance for them . . .’ (Exod 30:18–21; cf. 38:27).

246 For example, where ‘washing’ is indicated, it is of either the ‘hands’ *or* the ‘feet’, not both ‘hands’ and ‘feet’; cf. Gen 18:4; 19:2; 24:32; 43:24, 31; Exod 30:18–21; 38:27; Lev 15:11–12; Deut 21:6; Jda. 19:21; Jdg 19:21; 1 Sam 25:41; 2 Sam 11:8; 2 Chr 4:6; Tbs 7:9; Ps 25:6; 57:11; 72:13; Cant 5:3; Job 20:23; Matt 6:17; 15:2; Mark 7:3; John 9:7, 11, 15; 1 Tim 5:10.

247 The noun οἶκος is used exactly fourteen times in 2 Sam 7 LXX (7:1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 11, 13, 16, 18, 19, 25, 27, 29 (2×)).

in²⁴⁸ and was remembered as the one who 'prepared a place'²⁴⁹ for its building by Solomon, Jesus assures the disciples that, even though he who is the tabernacling and temple presence of God in their midst is going away, he will do so in order to 'prepare a place' for the disciples in his 'father's house' (οἶκος) (14:2; cf. 2:16–22).²⁵⁰ Ironically, the disciples will be able to experience this heavenly habitation not by being taken out of the world but by having the God of heaven come and 'dwell' or 'abide' in them, a theme that is central to John 14 and 15.²⁵¹ The related ideas of prayer 'in' and for the sake of 'God's name', and further notions of mutual indwelling in John 16 and 17, are also central themes in the erection of David/Solomon's temple.²⁵²

If Coloe is right, the idea of Jesus as the eschatological temple builder continues to be underlined in the crucifixion narrative. This is seen in descriptions of Jesus: (a) as the 'Nazarene', which could have evoked the idea of the Messianic shoot of David as Zechariah's 'Branch' come to erect the eschatological temple of God;²⁵³ (b) uniting his mother and disciple together, which may be taken as his symbolic reconstitution of the 'house of God' into the 'household of God';²⁵⁴ and (c) giving up not 'his' but 'the' Spirit (τὸ πνεῦμα), thereby 'completing' his work of raising the destroyed temple of his body in a new Spirit-filled community (cf. 2:19–22).²⁵⁵ The idea that Jesus dispenses the Spirit in his death is graphically reinforced in the FE's insistence that 'blood and water' flow out of Jesus' side. By all accounts, this effusion fulfills Jesus' promise of the Spirit in 7:37–9.²⁵⁶

In summary, although several connections suggested above are relatively 'quiet' and must be held at arms length, and although a good deal of work

248 2 Sam 7:5–6; 1 Ki. 8:12–13, 27.

249 E.g., 1 Ch 15:1, 3, 12; 2 Chr 1:4; 3:1. See the discussion in Coloe 2000a.

250 For an extended argument on hearing Jesus' reference to the 'father's house' in John 14:2 as a reference not to heaven but to the temple of Jesus' body, as in John 2:16–22, see Kerr 2002, Chapter 8.

251 See the discussion in Coloe 2000a.

252 Cf. for example 2 Sam 7:13, 23, 26; 1 Kgs 8:16–20, 27, 29, 33, 35, 43–4, 48; 9:3, 7; John. 14:13–14, 26; 15:16, 21; 16:23–4, 26; 17:6, 11–12, 26.

253 See Coloe 2000b; 2009, 377–9; and discussion on p. 299 above.

254 Coloe 2009, 379–81.

255 "The new 'Father's House/temple' (2:26; 14:2) is born through the creative Spirit released by Jesus' last breath upon the small household of mother and son (19:30)" (Coloe 2009, 381).

256 This point has been well argued, though not always connected to the temple theme in the FG. See, for example, Hoskyns 1947, 533; Schneiders 2005, 178; Brown 1970, 11:949–50; and the compacted treatment in Lincoln 2005, 479.

remains to be done in future studies, I have attempted to show how several signals leading to and within this final macrostructural heptad of 'days' nonetheless support the notion that Jesus' triumph on the cross has been designed to resonate with the legendary campaigns of Joshua and David. Having already been designated a shepherd, as were both Joshua and David, Jesus—like Joshua—comes from across the Jordan and wilderness to enact an inaugural conquest over the land that will take seven days, climaxing in the midst of the 'shouts' of his people. Jesus—like David—is anointed and greeted as king to a great crowd of celebrants in Jerusalem, even though the corrupt leadership wants to kill him. Nonetheless, in the same way as David had it in his heart to build a temple as God's dwelling, Jesus subjects himself to betrayal by a trusted confidante in order to fulfill scripture; he reprises David's journey across the Kidron and Mt. of Olives, in order that he may likewise build a new temple consisting of a renewed people, filled with the Spirit and glory of God. It is an act of anthropological, and therefore, cosmic re-creation effected in his death. This is why, as will be reinforced by resonances in John 20, a variety of elements that reverberate with Israel's creation stories begin to accumulate in John 19 in conjunction with or conflated to other elements: Jesus cries 'it is finished'; his 'side' is pierced; he is buried in a 'garden' prior to the transformation of time and the beginning of a new creation week/aeon ('first day'/'eight days later') in 20:1.²⁵⁷

7.2.4 *Seven Days (ch. 20): In the 'End' (Telos) the 'Beginning' (Arche)*

As Joshua and David each defeat Israel's enemies and give them rest in the Promised Land,²⁵⁸ a land frequently depicted in Edenic terms, so Jesus is depicted in John 20 as fulfilling this promise in an eschatologically ultimate and, therefore, protologically reminiscent manner. As many scholars have observed, Jesus appears to be variously depicted in John 20 as a new Adam at the dawn of a new creation in a new Edenic garden/holy-of-holies/temple receiving a new symbolic Eve/lover.²⁵⁹

257 On these and several more potential connections to Adam and the creation narrative, see the survey and references in Kubiś 2012, 463–70.

258 Cf. Josh 22:4; 23:1; 1 Chr 23:25.

259 See for example Wright 2003, 3:667; Köstenberger 2007, 506; Griffith-Jones 2008, 116–19; 2013, 283; McWhirter 2006, 88–105 (on the bridal theme); and, again, especially Kubiś 2012, 464–9, where an abundance of connections concerning the interpenetrating themes of creation, temple, and royalty are discussed.

Central to what is depicted in this chapter is, once again, the idea of Jesus, who represents the locus of God's presence in the world, now constituting his disciples as the new locus of God's presence on earth, a return to the *Urzeit* purposes of God. The new David has indeed erected a new and better temple, because it accords with God's protological purposes. This is depicted in Jesus' insufflation of the disciples in 20:22, whereby the Spirit or glory that would ordinarily be shown to fill the tabernacle or temple—and that has been filling Jesus as God's new temple—now fills Jesus' disciples as God's new Adamic humanity in the world.²⁶⁰

This theme is also exhibited, albeit somewhat less obviously, in Jesus telling Mary not to 'touch/cling to' (ἅπτω)²⁶¹ him and his subsequent appearance to the disciples in the next two scenes. As Sandra Schneiders has argued, 'the Resurrection in John functions not primarily to proclaim or explain what happened to Jesus after his death . . . but to explore what his glorification meant and means for his *followers*.'²⁶² More specifically, John 20 has been structured so as to answer the theological and spiritual 'question[s], "Where is the Lord?" and . . . "How can he be encountered today?"'.²⁶³ The answer to both these questions, Schneiders then demonstrates, is in the midst of his disciples, his new humanity/'body' in the world. Mary must not cling to Jesus' body now as a way of holding onto or experiencing Jesus' presence, precisely because Jesus is now present in his new community. This is also why, when Jesus appears again in John 20:19, he does so 'in the midst of his new community, his 'disciples'.²⁶⁴ Jesus does not come to them from 'afar'. Instead, he 'stands up' or 'arises' in their midst as one who has been there all along.²⁶⁵ The implication, says Schneiders, is that Jesus has 'lifted up' the temple of his body in the midst of his disciples, even as Jesus promised in 2:19 (and, as I argued, as he promised in different terms in 1:39, and 42).²⁶⁶

260 The connection between Jesus' bestowal of the Spirit and Genesis 2 is well recognized by Johannine scholars. See, e.g., Barrett 1955, 474.

261 'Cling to' in the sense of not wanting to let go would seem to be the meaning here. See LSJ 6126.

262 Schneiders 2005, 180, italics original.

263 Schneiders 2005, 182. See also Coloe 2009, 381, who sees temple themes in the FG arising in particular in response to the destruction of the temple in 70 CE.

264 The same general interpretation of John 20 is promoted by Lee 2002, 220–8.

265 So Bultmann 1971, 691.

266 See again p. 211 above.

7.2.5 *Seven Disciples (ch. 21): A Call to Renewed Covenant Faithfulness*

This final act of the FG, organized around Jesus' appearance to seven disciples, corresponds less to a signature 'move' in Israel's story as to the popular motif or type-scene that consistently crops up at all major intersections in the scriptural narrative, wherein legendary-but-departing-figures exhort Israel to a renewed covenant faithfulness.²⁶⁷ Commissioned to carry on the work begun and now proleptically completed by Jesus, the resounding note of the FG is: σὺ μοι ἀκολούθει (v. 22).

7.3 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to demonstrate that, in accordance with oral traditional conventions, the FE has plausibly 'packaged' the three most basic and overarching epochs that make up the story of Israel into the three (or four) macrostructural heptads identified in Chapter 6. In this regard, it was tested to see if the story of Israel's (i) 'Beginnings', (ii) Rescue and wilderness period under Moses, and (iii) Conquest and settlement period as typified by the campaigns of Joshua and David can plausibly be said to frame and account for the FE's movement of thought in the interlocking heptads of (i) days (1:1–2:11), (ii) signs (2:1–12:50), and (iii/iv) days/days (12–19/12–20). Efforts were also made in the course of this chapter to evaluate whether this proposed retelling of the story of Israel can be seen to pick up and expand upon the highly condensed and eschatologically-charged story of Adam and Israel that I argued is told in, and projected by, the prologue.

Although my treatment of this subject has by necessity been brief, and although several features of the patterning—especially in the Joshua/David section—must be held tentatively until more research may be completed, several features of the FG's text have been shown to confirm the broad profile of this thesis.

In the first place, each successive heptad does appear to frame the story of Jesus in a way that comprehends the boundaries of each respective epoch in Israel's story. This is apparent in the framing that both precedes and includes the climactic and transitional (janus) seventh units. As we have seen, in terms of what precedes the seventh units: we are successively moved from evocations of the creation story to Israel's last patriarch, Jacob (ch. 1); from Moses' first sign to memories of Joshua by the Jordan (2–10); from Joshua's entrance

267 As with Jacob (Gen 49); Moses (Deut 28–31); Joshua (Josh 24); and David (1Ki 1–7).

into the land by way of the Jordan/wilderness to the shouts that made the walls come down (12–19); or, again, from David's popular anointing and triumphal entry into Jerusalem to various memories of David's exile and/or temple-building aspirations (12–19). In a similar way, in terms of the framing that includes the seventh units: we are successively moved from intimations of the creation story to Jesus as a new Judah/Joseph/Moses (1:1–2:11); from Moses' first sign of turning water into blood to his last speech urging Israel to choose life instead of death (2–11); from Joshua's seven day march to his inaugural taking of the (paradisa) land (12–20); or, again, from David's anointing as king to his ultimate reception of the (paradisa) land and promised temple (12–20).

Many more specific memories that are germane to each epoch were also shown to resurface in the FE's telling of the story of Jesus, and frequently in sequence. Thus, I showed that whereas Jesus and/or the disciples are variously presented in accord with memories of Adam, Abraham and Sarah, Isaac, Jacob/Israel and the story of Bethel in the first heptad, Jesus and the many who surround him are variously presented in accord with memories of Israel's rescue from Egypt, Passover, passage through the sea, and reception of elements (water/bread/healings/the Law) that are characteristic of the wilderness period in the second heptad. The third heptad, too, appeared to be populated with a variety of elements specifically associated with memories of Joshua and David, including Joshua's prostration before the commander of the army of the Lord, David's hiding himself, David's betrayal by Absalom and Ahithophel, and notions of David and Solomon's temple.

Finally, although there was no space to trace the outworking robustly, there were several indicators along the way that the FE has indeed attempted to texture his retelling of the story of Israel in the body of his Gospel to continue and, indeed, 'answer' the generative story told in the prologue. This was seen, in the first instance, in all those places where the FE appears to make the point that the locus of God's presence and glory on the earth has now been shifted—in accord with God's protological purposes—from places to people. This emphasis is apparent at our first entrance into the Gospel when Jesus, the sum and substance of Israel's offices (i.e. potentially a shorthand way of underscoring Jesus as a new Adam), is said to be the Spirit-filled one who will baptize others with the Spirit; the dove signifies the immanence of a new creation moment. This emphasis then continues with the story-pattern being followed. Peter is proleptically identified with the Rock of Bethel; Nathanael is promised that he and those he represents will come to see the present Bethel-presence of glory in the Son of Man; and Jesus says with memories of Israel's first Passover sacrifice in the air that the sign that will prove he has authority

over the Jerusalem temple is, in essence, his death on the cross. Jesus' death is a sign that he is qualified to replace the Temple, of course, because in his death Jesus will do in a climactic way, *as* the sacrificed Passover Lamb and firstborn Son of God, what the temple was always designed to do: he, in his own sacrifice, will reveal the truth about God—namely, that God is love. These temple emphases as they merge with theological anthropology seem to appear again, as I pointed to some preliminary indications of, first in the Farewell Discourse and then at the cross and resurrection. Jesus' disciples are presented as his new Adamic humanity *and* new tabernacling presence in the world, a portrayal that fits in very well with longstanding traditions about the nature and function of the image of God in God's macrocosmic temple. In this way, the Gospel and prologue do indeed appear to have been composed or fitted together like hand and glove.

One final aspect of the FE's structuration supports this idea that the Gospel 'answers' the story about Adam told in the prologue. Namely, if Jesus is presented in the prologue as the answer to Adam/the world and Israel's respective failures to accept the Logos/Light/Light-Man and thereby represents the glory and presence of God in God's macrocosmic temple, filling it with glory; and if the arrival of Jesus as the representative of a new kind of Adamic flesh in the prologue therefore projects the supreme fulfilment of telic history (as I suggested according to the implied schema it does); then, it may be seen that each major heptad in the Gospel has been dynamically arranged to unveil that this full 'end' has indeed come. They also reveal this progressively. Thus it is that: the first heptad moves from Jesus' establishment of a new humanity as a new Spirit-filled Adam/Israel figure to a picture of the joy of the eschatological age; the second heptad moves from Jesus' reprisal of the campaign of Moses as a new and perfect leader to a picture of the undoing of the problem of death; the third heptad moves from Jesus' reprisal of the conquests of Joshua/David to his pouring out of the Spirit on humanity from the cross; or again the third heptad moves from Jesus' announcement of his battle against the Prince of this world to the dawn of a new creation that is comprised of a new Adamic humanity who *are* God's temples of glory in the world, and who also have the promise not only of the reversal of death but of the reception of an entirely new order of undying fleshly life (i.e. resurrection after the first-fruit); finally, the fourth (or climax of third) heptad moves to—or more probably gives way to—the final heptad wherein the disciples are effectively promised that the full number of people from among the nations will be made children of God, which is to say, God's purposes and promises to Abraham to fill the earth with glory by means of the multiplication of his image will finally be completed. At each step then,

the glory of Jesus, as he recapitulates the scriptural story in the Gospel, adumbrates the arrival of the eschatological glories held in abeyance since Adam's transgression as evoked and projected by the prologue.²⁶⁸



FIGURE 7 *The Fulfillment of Telic History in the Fourth Gospel's Heptads.*

²⁶⁸ Cf. the compatible argument of Griffith-Jones that the FE lays out a 'path' for his listeners that has a definite destination: 'to their final self-understanding as new creatures with a new Adam in a new Eden on Easter Day' (Griffith-Jones 2013, 283).

Conclusion

We have found him about whom Moses in the law and also the prophets wrote, Jesus son of Joseph from Nazareth.



The majority of the present work has been spent suggesting that much of what the FE says in the FG is said by way of evocation. So much does the FE do this that he even manages to retell a coherent scriptural sub-story—a ‘scriptural tale’—in the course of his telling of the story of Jesus. The danger inherent in an argument like this is obvious, especially in a Gospel where the Evangelist treats words like semantic fireworks. Surpluses of meaning suffuse the atmosphere. It is hoped, however, that enough has been done to defend the profile of this thesis.

I begin in Chapter 1 suggesting that, if a scriptural tale of any sort is going to be credibly demonstrated to exist in the FG, the enterprise of unearthing it needs to be duly complicated by an appreciation for oral traditional forms of referencing. Literary approaches to the FG’s use of scripture do not only tend toward atomistic treatments of discrete and usually more obvious references, but they have also failed to convince Johannine scholarship that the FE has composed his Gospel according to some sort of overarching scriptural schema. I then clarify that the suggestion that an oral poetics needs to be brought to bear on readings of the FG is not a summons to abandon or ignore the reality of a literary poetics. On the contrary, it is an invitation into a fuller, more nuanced reading of an ancient and poetically bifid text. The reality of the FG is that it shows ample signs of a distinctively literary artistry. Moreover, scholars who have approached the FG’s use of scripture with the armaments of a largely literary poetics have done much to expose the possibility of a scriptural tale in the FG. Furthermore, there is considerable evidence both in certain Jewish circles as well as in compositions from the wider Graeco-Roman world that highly literary and textual forms of ‘rewriting’ and imitation did occur in the production of new texts. The Qumran community’s so-called ‘Rewritten Bible’ texts and Virgil’s *Aeneid* stand as pinnacle examples of this phenomenon. These works also demonstrate how

innovative ancient authors could be in their reuse of pre-existing sources. All manner of creative synthesis, clustering, and reapplication of sources is evident.

There is some question, however, whether the practices of those at Qumran and among the literati in the Graeco-Roman world provide adequate analogues for what the FE may have been doing with scripture in the FG. As I begin to outline in Chapter 2, besides there being no hard evidence in the FG itself that enables scholars to conclude that the FE had access to and used *all* of the scrolls of Genesis through Kings, a combination of material realities within the first century CE call into question the very idea that the FE would have told a 'scriptural tale'. Even if it could be conclusively shown, for example, that the nine to eleven scrolls comprising the books of Genesis through Kings were written and read *as a coherent story* in the first century (which as I note is not a given but seems very likely), it would still not follow that the FE would necessarily have been able or inclined to write such a highly textualized scriptural tale. Neither is it likely that the FE's audiences would have been able to recognize such a textualized tale in all its detail. The problem is that perhaps five per cent of first-century audiences could read. Scrolls were also cumbersome, rare, and expensive. Only the most privileged would have had access to them. There is also no unambiguous evidence that the story of Israel as repositied in Genesis through Kings was read in the synagogues or in so-called lectionary readings. In light of these material realities, the question is whether the FE's potential audiences would have had a coherent conception of a sweeping 'story' of Israel at all. The rest of Chapter 2 argues for this reality.

In the light of collective memory studies combined with insights from cognitive science, I conclude that communities of memory are constituted by commemorative identities. These identities take shape and are buoyed by a broad bedrock of told and continually retold foundational narratives, a practice that is accentuated in times of crisis and/or push for change. Commemorative communities in oral environments *must be* rooted in such founding stories precisely because of the mnemonic and rhetorical needs of these communities. Where books are not at hand for the storage and retrieval of large stores of information, stories are the lifeblood of worldviews and, therefore, of a community's ongoing existence as an identifiable group in the world. This picture of communities of memories, I show, fits in very well with what is found in first-century Judaism generally, and in the ranging use of scripture in the FG more specifically. My discussion of the numerous 'Summaries of Israel's Story' is particularly important in this regard, seeing that the seven-part schema discernible in these texts appears to resurface in its own way in the body of the FG.

Chapter 3 takes up the question of how such a scriptural tale should be sought in the FG. This leads me into a discussion of what, following John Miles Foley, I call a 'Syncretic Poetics', which is a poetics that attempts to do justice to the reality of texts composed under the influence of both an oral and literary poetics. In addition to offering a soft critique of literary approaches to intertextuality, which frequently presuppose a 'hierarchy of references' based on the most verbal/'visible', I discuss oral traditional 'forms' (the basic building blocks of oral traditional compositions) as well as the evidence for wonderfully rich compositional and performative environments in oral settings. This discussion indicates that a considerably greater openness should be exhibited among biblical scholars when considering who in ancient contexts could have heard what kinds of associations. Of particular salience is the fact that in all orally-rooted communities researched to date the story-pattern has been found to be the fundamental building block of compositions. This largest of the oral form is the most important; the story-pattern is also the most substructural, non-verbal, and embedded. Furthermore, story-patterns have been found to persist in works of literature that are composed in largely oral or orally-residual environments due to: (a) the need to envision the whole prior to writing, (b) the 'rhetorical persistence of oral forms', and, not least, (c) their exceptional utility in providing rich immanent contexts and referential backgrounds. I conclude Chapter 3 by acknowledging that the real trick to being able to unearth a scriptural tale in the FG will not be by methodological finesse. As in all works of art, the primary challenge is to pay attention to the *sensus communis*, to the 'common sense' captured in the 'countless things' that can be known about the text, author, and environment in which the FG took shape. In other words, a scriptural tale in the FG is ultimately to be found plausible because it ultimately 'makes sense'.

I begin the exegetical task in Part 2 by trying first to make sense of the prologue, which I propose tells a highly compacted story.

This necessitates an attempt in Chapter 4 to establish an immanent context or back-story for a reading of the prologue. It is proposed that the stories of Adam and Israel as they are sometimes understood on the backdrop of a particular theological anthropology rooted in temple theology provides such an immanent context. Adam is elected, like Israel in modified fashion after him, as the image or idol of God to represent God's glory in the world so that the macrocosmic temple can be filled with a glorious humanity and therefore filled with the fullness of the glory of God. Adam's repudiation of the Word/Law/Wisdom of God, however, leads to his loss of glory, a loss that is seen in some communities as synonymous with Adam's loss of primal and ontological light. Darkness becomes his legacy. The creation is also, and by necessity,

subject to frustration and darkness. In her own way, Israel suffers the same fate after Adam and for the same reasons, and this leads to the same basic result. In essence, these repeated failures of Adam and Israel awaken the hope—as a good many exilic and post-exilic texts demonstrate—for the arrival of a new Adamic figure, who will be faithful, and who will be filled with all the glory of Adam. This figure will complete the story-pattern, bringing history and God's macrocosmic temple to its intended *telos*, which is frequently envisioned as a return to *Urzeit* conditions.

It is precisely this story and schema, I then argue in Chapter 5, that is projected by the FG's prologue. Evidence for this proposal is seen in many textual features, including emphases on the Logos existing with God in the beginning as 'life' and 'light' and who is the source of humanity's creation and revelation. Philo portrays the Logos as the anthropomorphic glory of God, the one in whose image and impress earthly humans are made. He also presents the Logos as the first light or light-man of God, responsible for the life and illumination of men made in his image. In the FE's prologue, it is the failure to take firm hold of the light/light-man that accounts for the present darkness, a description that coincides rather seamlessly with memories of Adam or Adamic humanity's original failure to embrace the Logos/Light/Word/Wisdom of God and the consequent loss of light/glory. This basic history, I then suggest after an extended discussion of the (potentially) transitional and clarifying verses 12 and 13, is answered in the coming of the Logos in the flesh, an action to be understood as the coming of a truly glorious human, fully identified with humanity as a new representative flesh. This figure is said to be in the image of his Father, to embody the Law given by Moses, and to reveal God. These sorts of descriptions naturally coincide with memories of Adam and create the expectation that history is about to be fulfilled, that the telic purposes of God are at last to be completed.

This leads to an examination of the FG's macrostructure in Part 3. My aim is to determine whether a more expanded form of Israel's story that links with the prologue can be said to exist.

Since it is not uncommon in oral traditional environments to 'package' story-patterns into numbers patterns in a way that both frames and dramatizes the story being told, I proceed in Chapter 6 to argue for the heptadic framework of the FG's macrostructure.

This is followed in Chapter 7 by an attempt to demonstrate that the three overriding epochs in Israel's story concerning its 'Beginnings', time with Moses, and experiences of conquest/settlement under Joshua and David (not to mention a good many of these epoch's finer movements and figures) are more (Beginnings and Campaign of Moses) and less (Joshua/David phase)

discernable in the three (or four) macrostructural heptads spanning John 1–20. The degree to which the FE plays with temple and ‘locus of glory’ themes, and the degree to which the *telos* of history is progressively shown to be realized, seems to confirm a deliberate and expanded outworking of the story begun in the prologue. The Gospel ends as it begins, with evocations of a new humanity in a new garden with a new Spirit-insufflation and representative glory with which the world is to be transformed.

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